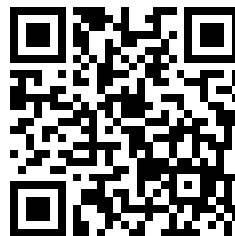

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TO

BENGT THORDEMAN

DIRECTOR GENERAL OF THE CENTRAL OFFICE AND OF THE MUSEUM

OF NATIONAL ANTIQUITIES

this volume is gratefully dedicated

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MARGINALIA ON SOME BRONZE ALBUMS

II

BY

BERNHARD KARLGREN

The present article is a direct sequel to a paper in BMFEA 31 (1959).¹⁾

We shall use here the same abbreviations in references to publications on Chinese bronzes that were employed there.²⁾

CHAPTER ONE: SQUARE TING

The Square Ting is, in many respects, a counterpart to the Round Ting studied in detail in the previous article. But it offers some highly remarkable divergences.

I. SQUARE TING A.

Arrangement of the décor.

There are two principal types:

Type 1. Here we have the counterpart to type a. of the Round Ting A, characterized by the Uni-décor: a large T'aot'ie covering the whole flat surface up to the rim. But there is an important difference. In Round Ting a. there were, as a rule, incised Hanging blades on the upper part of the legs. Here, in Square Ting 1., we find two alternative arrangements: either incised Blades, as in a., or plastic heads on the upper part of the legs. This latter is characteristic of quite another category of Round Ting A (type d., i. e. bare belly, neck belt with Bodied T'aot'ie) but is missing altogether in Round Ting A with T'aot'ie as Uni-décor. Examples:

(With incised Blades on legs:) Pl. 1 a (Kunstindustri Museet, Copenhagen); further: Seligman Pl. 2; vessel in the Fogg museum.

(With plastic heads on the legs:) Pl. 1 b (a private coll. in New York); Pl. 2 a (C. T. Loo); Pl. 2 b (Hakkaku Pl. 3); further: Heusden Pl. 18; Seikwa 93; Jung No. 138; vessels in colls. Brundage and Higginson.

A peculiarly shaped T'aot'ie and bare legs on a vessel in Yechung III shang 14 (= Ackerman Pl. 12).

¹⁾ Bernhard Karlgren, *Marginalia on some Bronze Albums*, BMFEA 31, pp. 289—331, 74 Plates.

²⁾ Add: Mizuno = S. Mizuno, *Bronzes and Jades of Ancient China*, 1959; Leth = A. Leth, *Kinesisk Kunst i Kunstindustri Museet*, Copenhagen 1959.

Type 2. This is a counterpart of type b. of the Round Ting: large T'aot'ie filling the principal surface and above this an upper belt with Dragons. Here again we find the same divergence from the Round Ting as in type 1: besides vessels with incised Blades on the legs (like type b.) there are a good number with plastic heads on the legs (which was never the case in type b.) Examples:

(With incised Blades on legs:) Pl. 3 a (MFEA); Pl. 3 b (Metrop. Museum); further: Exhibition Pl. 1; Ill. Cat. Pl. 10; Mizuno Pl. 93; Wuying 6; Mengwei sü 3; Yen'ku shang 4; Shuangkien k'iwu shang 6; vessels in colls. Brundage (two pieces), Martin Manson, Gump; Paoyün 15 has Snakes instead of Dragons in the upper belt.

(With plastic heads on legs:) Pl. 4 a; further: Pillsbury Pl. 1; Cull Pl. 1; Lochow 5; Waterbury Pl. 6; Yechung II shang 3; our Pl. 44 a (= Trautman Pl. 7) has Snakes instead of Dragons in the upper belt.

An isolated case of bare legs in Shierkia I: 2.

Type 3. In the Round Ting class the type c. was quite well represented: Hanging blades with Cicadas on the belly and a figured neck belt. There were, besides this, a rarer variant with Hanging blades without Cicadas but with Cicadas in the neck belt; and, quite exceptionally, Hanging blades without Cicadas and a neck belt with other figures than Cicadas.

Here, in the Square Ting class, we have a limited category (type 3) corresponding to the last-mentioned; on the analogy of the kindred type c. in the Round Ting class we have probably to carry this group as well to Square Ting A, not B. The legs are sometimes bare, sometimes have incised Blades. Examples:

Pl. 4 b (C. T. Loo); further: Dubosc No. 55 (Dragons, incised Blades); Kwankarō A 10 (deformed Dragons, inc. Bl.); Chicago Pl. 4 (Birds, inc. Bl.); vessel in the Malmö Museum (quite like Pl. 4 b but bare legs).

To sum up: the differences in the grammar of the décor between the Round Ting A and the Square Ting A are considerable. The latter have the following deviations from the former:

There are no Cicadas, neither on Hanging blades, nor in the upper belts, thus nothing corresponding to type c. (In this respect this class thus agrees with Kuei and Yu, but diverges from Round Ting and Li-ting).

There is no category with bare body and an upper belt with Bodied Dragons, as in Round Ting A: d. (Nor are there such categories in Li-ting, Kuei and Yu).

There are often plastic heads on the legs on vessels with large T'aot'ie on the body (i. e. types 1. and 2.) — Round Ting with T'aot'ie on the belly (types a. and b.) do not have such heads (Round Ting have them only in type d., and Li-ting never).

There are very rarely bare legs. The Round Ting class, on the contrary, has a large category (c., with Hanging blades on the belly) which mostly has bare legs (the Li-ting always).

T'aot'ie.

In the Round Ting A class the T'aot'ie on the belly was practically always Bodied T'aot'ie. Here, in the Square Ting A class, matters are more complicated.

α. Bodied T'aot'ie is certainly preponderant: our Pls. 1 b, 3 a, 4 a, 44 a; further: Pillsbury Pl. 1; Exhibition Pl. 1; Ill. Cat. Pl. 10; Waterbury Pl. 6; Lochow 5; Cull Pl. 1; Mizuno Pl. 93; Wuying 6; Paoyün 15; Mengwei sü 3; Shierkia I: 2; Yechung II shang 3; Yen'k'u shang 4; vessels in colls. Brundage, Manson, Gump; a curiously distorted T'aot'ie in Seikwa 93.

β. Mask T'aot'ie occurs in our Pls. 1 a, 2 a, 3 b; further: Heusden Pl. 18; Seligman Pl. 2; Ackerman Pl. 12; vessel in the Fogg Museum.

γ. Disjointed T'aot'ie occurs in our Pl. 2 b; further: Shuangkien k'iwu shang 6; vessel in Higginson coll.

In the classes with a round belly we found Bodied T'aot'ie regularly in Ting A, and in certain categories of Eared Kuei A, Earless Kuei A and Yu A. The Mask T'aot'ie, on the other hand, occurred (as décor on the belly) exclusively in the Li-ting class; and the Disjointed T'aot'ie in certain categories of Li-ting A, Eared and Earless Kuei A and Yu A. Mask T'aot'ie and Disjointed T'aot'ie on the belly were quite foreign to the Round Ting A. Here, in Square Ting A, on the contrary, there are important cases of both these T'aot'ie versions.

The appearance here of the Mask T'aot'ie would seem in some measure to approximate our class here to the Li-ting class, in which the Mask T'aot'ie is predominant. But there the great majority of the Mask T'aot'ie had scale-shaped ear, which is quite unknown in our present class. And the Mask T'aot'ie in the Li-ting class has no Flange in the central line, whereas that in Square Ting regularly has the same stout Flanges as the Bodied T'aot'ie of Round Ting and Li-ting. Consequently, in regard to this fundamental motif the Square Ting goes its own way, unlike those two other classes.

The Forehead of the T'aot'ie.

In the previous article it was demonstrated how the T'aot'ie could be formed either with a hooked forehead shield or with a forehead Bow-line. The latter occurred exclusively in those categories of Round Ting A and Li-ting A which had Uni-décor (large T'aot'ie covering the belly without a figured neck belt: types a. and g., h.) and a small sub-group of Yu A (part of type s.).

Moreover, it was shown that the forehead shield had two variants, of importance for a class distinction: the class Eared Kuei very largely has double-hooked Shield, which is unknown in the other classes. In our Square Ting A we find:

The T'aot'ie on the body, whether Bodied, Mask or Disjointed T'aot'ie, always has forehead Shield, even in the Uni-décor group (type 1). In this it contrasts strongly with Round Ting A (and Li-ting, but agrees with Kuei and Yu). This Shield, however, occurs in both variants:

Single-hooked forehead Shield: our Pls. 1 b, 3 a, 4 a, 44 a; further: Pillsbury Pl. 1; Exhibition Pl. 1; Waterbury Pl. 6; Lochow 5; Seligman Pl. 2; Cull Pl. 1; Mizuno Pl. 93; Wuying 6; Mengwei sü 3; Shierkia I: 2; Yechung II shang 3; Yen'ku shang 4; Shuangkien k'iwu shang 6; vessels in Fogg Museum and colls. Brundage, Manson, Gump.

Double-hooked forehead Shield: our Pls. 1 a, 2 b, 3 b; further: Ill. Cat. 10; Paoyün 15; Jung No. 138; vessel in Higginson coll.

Bow-line only in the eccentric vessel Seikwa 93.

The occurrence of the double-hooked Shield in a not unimportant sub-group contrasts strongly with Round Ting A, Li-ting, Earless Kuei and Yu.

The Formation of the mouth.

In the classes Round Ting A and Li-ting A we noted the curious rule that vessels of categories a. and g—h. (i. e. vessels without figured neck belt) regularly had T'aot'ie with Outcurving mouth (Incurving only in a very few Ting), whereas vessels of categories b. and i. (i. e. vessels with figured neck belt) always had T'aot'ie with Incurving mouth.

Our class Square Ting does not at all follow this rule. We find Outcurving mouth in a few cases only, irrespective of the existence or absence of a figured neck belt: (Without figured neck belt:) Pls. 2 a; 2 b; Heusden Pl. 18; Seikwa 93. (With figured neck belt:) Pl. 3 b; Paoyün 15.

All the rest of the numerous vessels adduced under categories 1—3 above have Incurving mouth.

The Formation of the horn.

In the classes of vessel examined in the previous article the recumbent C horn was absolutely predominant. In Round Ting A there were scores of this type but only a very few standing C horns or recumbent S horns.

In our Square Ting class the distribution is quite different:

Recumbent C horns: Pls. 2 b; 3 b; 44 a; further: Exhibition Pl. 1; Ill. Cat. Pl. 10; Shierkia I: 2; Shuangkien k'iwu shang 6; vessels in colls. Brundage and Higginson.

Standing C horns: Pls. 1 b; 3 a; 4 a; further: Pillsbury Pl. 1; Cull Pl. 1; Waterbury Pl. 6; Wuying 6; Mengwei sü 3; Yen'ku shang 4; Yechung II shang 3; vessels in colls. Brundage, Manson, Gump.

Recumbent S horns: Pls. 1 a; 2 a; further: Seligman Pl. 2; Ackerman Pl. 12; Mizuno Pl. 93; Paoyün 15; vessel in Fogg museum.

Thus the standing C horn and the S horn play a much more prominent rôle here than in the Round Ting A.

Again, there are three interesting phenomena in the décor on the horns.

In the first place, the "C-hooked-quill border", which hardly exists in Round

Ting A (nor in Li-ting A, Kuei A and Yu A), crops up here seriously, as in Pl. 2 a and 44 a; further: Ill. Cat. Pl. 10; Mizuno Pl. 93; vessel in the Higginson coll.

An isolated case of "Bottom Torus" like that so common in Eared Kuei A but unknown in Round Ting A occurs in Shuangkien k'iwu shang 6; the vessel has another aberrant feature: bare background to the T'aot'ie, likewise common in Eared Kuei A.

In the second place, the regular treatment of the Mask T'aot'ie in a very large category of the Li-ting (the Mask T'aot'ie does not exist on the belly in Round Ting A) shows recumbent C horns with the pattern "consecutive hooks". The Mask T'aot'ie here in Square Ting has either Recumbent S horns with C-hooked-quill border (in some of the cases playfully distorted), as in Pls. 1 a; 2 a; Seligman Pl. 2; Ackerman Pl. 12; vessel in Fogg museum.; or recumbent C horns (with T-score borders) as in Pl. 3 b; or T horns, as in Heusden Pl. 18. The "Consecutive hooks" pattern is absent altogether, although we have here typical Mask T'aot'ie.

In the third place, the Bodied T'aot'ie in the Li-ting class frequently had the "scale" pattern on the horns. The numerous Bodied T'aot'ie in our Square Ting class never have the scale pattern (in this respect agreeing with Round Ting, Kuei and Yu).

Background to the T'aot'ie.

The bare background, so common in the class Eared Kuei, is not allowed in the Square Ting class.

Toothed Flanges.

The Square Ting A as a rule always has stout Flanges at the four corners; an isolated exception is the vessel in Chicago Pl. 4 mentioned under type 3. above. There is, however, a curious fact to be observed. Whereas many specimens have straight Flanges, like our Pls. 1 b, 2 b, 3 a, 4 a, 4 b, there are a considerable number on which the Flanges at the top turn outwards and form two tooth-like projections, as in Pls. 1 a, 2 a, 3 b. These two projections correspond to the separate upper décor belt, when there is one, as seen in Pl. 3 b, and when not, as in Pl. 1 a, they serve to suggest a division of the surface analogous to the former.

This kind of double-toothed Flange is exceedingly rare in the classes of vessel studied in the previous article (Round Ting, Li-ting, Kuei, Yu).

An isolated case is, for instance, a Round Ting in Tsun 1: 12 (now in Philadelphia) which also has other aberrant features, e. g. plastic heads on the legs and a tendency to a leg shape in Middle Chou style. Another case is the Kuei in Freer Pl. 20.

Here, in Square Ting A, we frequently find the double-toothed Flange, in contrast to Round Ting A: besides the instances already adduced: Seligman Pl. 2; Heusden Pl. 18; Ill. Cat. Pl. 10; Paoyün 15; Jung No. 138; vessel in Fogg Museum.

In Pl. 44 a (= Trautmann Pl. 7) we find an exceptional case with the entire flanges dentated — a feature of Early Chou time.

Whorl Circle.

In the Round Ting A this is a regular though not very frequent motif described in *Marginalia I*, p. 326. In our class Square Ting A it is absent altogether, a curious contrast.

II. SQUARE TING B.

Arrangement of the décor.

There are two principal types:

Type 4. This is a counterpart to type e. in the Round Ting class: bare principal surface above which is an upper belt with a B-style décor. Example: Pl. 5 a (Shant'u 41), here an Animal triple band in the upper belt. The following cases are brought together here because of the general arrangement and the parallelism with type e., although the figures in the upper belt are "neutral" and therefore not very distinctive. Example: Pl. 5 b (Alice Boney coll.) (belt: Snakes); further: Pillsbury Pl. 3 (belt: Dragons); Mengwei shang 9 (id.). The present group is very limited, whereas the corresponding one in Round Ting B is exceedingly large.

Type 5. This is the preponderant type. It shows an arrangement with a rectangular field in the centre, bare or filled with Interlocked T's, bordered in on all four sides by broad decorated panels. There are several variants:

α. All the four framing panels have figures; a very limited group. Examples: (With bare central field:) Pl. 6 a (Shant'u 40) (Animal triple band in the panels); Pl. 6 b (British Museum) (Dragons and Birds); Ill. Cat. Pl. 12 (Birds); K'ao ku hüe pao 7 Pl. 40 (Dragons; a giant vessel).

(With Interlocked T's in the central field:) Kidder Pl. 14 (Dragons and Snakes in the panels).

β. The framing panels at the sides and the bottom are filled with Spikes; the upper panel, corresponding to the upper belt of types 4. and 5., carries figures (Dragons, Snakes etc.). Examples:

(With bare central field:) Pl. 7 a (Tsun 1: 24) (upper belt Animal triple band); further: Tsun 1: 25 (id.); Paoyün 16 (id.); our Pl. 7 b (belt: large double-bodied Snake; the same in the following 9 vessels); Heusden Pl. 17; Burchard No. 266; Si Ts'ing shiyi 2, 3; Shant'u 43; Shierkia VII: 2; vessels in Freer Gallery, Mus. Cernuschi, C. D. Carter coll.; Stanford Univ. Mus., Arts of the Chou No. 24 (belt: Dragons); Si Ts'ing shiyi 1 (id.); Chengsung shang 14 (belt: small Snakes); vessel in Knudsen coll. (id.); Kidder Pl. 13 (belt: Dissolved T'aot'ie).

(With Interlocked T's in the central field:) Pl. 8 a (C. T. Loo) (upper belt: Dragons); Wuying 1 (id.); vessel in Ernest Erickson coll. (id.); two vessels in Burchard coll. (id.); Wuying 4 (belt: Birds); vessel in Noris Duke coll. (id.); our Pl. 8 b (Chengsung shang 25) (belt: De-tailed birds); vessel in Hochstadter coll. (belt: Snakes).

It is exceedingly rare that vessels appear with the regular B-style features in a different arrangement: Pl. 44 b (Brundage coll.) the entire surface filled with Dissolved T'aot'ie, bands with Diagonals, Circle bands.

So much for the décor on the body of the vessels. We must, however, also take into account the treatment of the legs. There are three types:

Either the legs are bare, as in Pls. 5 a and 7; further: Tsun 1: 25; Shant'u 40.

Or the legs have incised Blades, as in Pl. 6 b; further: Pillsbury Pl. 2; Kidder Pl. 13; vessels in Mus. Cernuschi and in Burchard coll.

Or the legs have plastic heads on the upper part, as in Pls. 5 b, 6 a, 8 a, 8 b. This is the rule in the great majority of the specimens, quite irrespective of the décor otherwise: Pillsbury Pl. 3; Heusden Pl. 17; Kidder Pl. 14; Burchard No. 266; K'ao ku hüe pao 7 Pl. 40; Stanford No. 24; Ill. Cat. Pls. 8, 12; Paoyün 16; Wuying 1, 4; Si Ts'ing shīyi 1, 2, 3; Chengsung shang 14, 25; Shant'u 43; Shierkia VII: 2; vessels in Freer Gallery and colls. Erickson, Burchard, Duke, C. D. Carter, Boney, Hochstadter, Knudsen.

To sum up: there are some strong contrasts, in regard to the character of the décor, between Round Ting B and our class Square Ting B here:

We have already seen that whereas the type e. of the Round Ting B (bare belly, figured neck belt) is very frequent, the corresponding type 4. here is very limited indeed.

In Round Ting B, type f. (belly covered with B-style décor, figured neck belt) the only really frequent motif on the belly was Compound lozenges with or without Spikes. Vertical ribs and Interlocked T's were rare exceptions. Here, in type 5., there are, certainly, Spikes, but alone as décor in the frames, and in the central field there are not Compound lozenges (as in Round Ting B) but Interlocked T's instead. (Vertical ribs are just as rare here as in Round Ting, Pl. 45 a, Nelson Gallery, showing an exceptional case).

In Round Ting B the legs are bare in the largest category (type e.: bare body, figured neck belt) and to a certain extent in a smaller category (type f.: decorated belly); here, in Square Ting B, as in Square Ting A above, bare legs are rare.

In Round Ting B there is no group which has plastic heads on the legs. In Square Ting B, on the contrary, this element is quite preponderant. And here furthermore we find an interesting contrast between Square Ting A and Square Ting B: the former had incised Blades almost as frequently as plastic heads on the legs, in the latter we find the incised Blades in a few cases only, the plastic heads being the general rule.

Toothed Flanges.

In Square Ting A we observed the existence of the "toothed Flanges" as a contrast to the Round Ting A. In our class Square Ting B the double-toothed Flanges likewise crop up, as against Round Ting B which only have small, often rudimentary Flanges in the neck belt (even there absent to a large extent). Of the Square Ting B enumerated just now in the discussion on the leg décor, the following have toothed Flanges: our Pl. 5 b; Ill. Cat. Pl. 8; Shant'u 43; Chengsung shang 14, 25; vessels in Mus. Cernuschi and colls. Hochstadter and Knudsen. The rest all have straight

Flanges. Thus in Square Ting A and B taken together, this curious phenomenon, the toothed Flange, appertains to a minority of the vessels, yet to a sufficiently large extent to form an interesting special feature of the Square Ting as compared with the Round Ting.

The vessel in Ill. Cat. Pl. 12 with a Chou inscription has the whole Flanges dentated, just like the vessel in our Pl. 44 a discussed earlier; this is quite exceptional.

Whorl Circle and Square with crescents.

These two motifs, so common in the classes Kuei A and B, are rare but do sometimes occur in Round Ting B. We have seen that the Whorl Circle is absent in Square Ting A, and here in B it is likewise quite exceptional; a sporadic case in Pl. 45 b (C. T. Loo).

The B-style element Squares with crescents is absent altogether.

CHAPTER TWO: TSUN

The "Tsun" vessels discussed in this chapter are the common round type with a clearly tripartite arrangement: a central part, here called "bulb", a tall "neck" and a "foot" below. For the present some other types are left aside: the Shouldered Tsun (see next chapter) and the vessel often called Tsun which has no clear dividing line between bulb and neck, better regarded as a tall Chī (see chapter five). The square Tsun is also left aside in this chapter.

The shape of the Tsun is fairly constant. There is a difference in stoutness: some specimens are somewhat broader and heavier, others are more slender; in some instances the bulb protrudes somewhat more than in others, thus causing a more forcefully undulating profile. But these contrast are hardly more than nuances and play no rôle in distinguishing categories within the Tsun class.

I. TSUN A.

Arrangement of the décor.

There are four principal types; in all of them the three parts (bulb, neck, foot) are as a rule set off against each other by double raised lines.

Type 6. T'aot'ie on the bulb; neck and foot bare; no Flanges, or, at most, a slight vertical ridge along the central line of the T'aot'ie face.

The T'aot'ie may be Bodied T'aot'ie, as in Pl. 9 a, or Disjointed T'aot'ie as in Pl. 9 b (Seikwa 20), or, mostly, Mask T'aot'ie, as in Pl. 10 a. Frequently, particularly in the last-mentioned type, it is flanked by Vertical Dragons, as in Pl. 10 a, or by head-turning Dragons, as in Pl. 9 a, or by Birds, as in Pl. 10 b (C. T. Loo) — further examples of flanking Birds: BMFEA 6: 18 and 20: 11; Burchard

I Pl. 24; Seikwa 23; Shuangkien kikin 24; vessels in the Röhss Museum Gothenburg; Mus. für Ostas. Kunst Köln; colls. C. D. Carter and A. C. von Frey.

Type 6. is a very large category, and we need only cite a few instances besides those already adduced: Ackerman Pl. 38: White Pls. 96, 98; Parnassus II: 3; Consten, *Das alte China* Pl. 22; Burchard II: Pl. 10; G. Salles, *Bronzes Chinois* 1934, Pl. 28; Senoku 16—19; Seikwa 19, 20, 24, 25; Hakkaku 7; Paoyün 99; Shant'u 131; Tsun 1: 30, 31, 35; vessels in the National Museum Stockholm, Nelson Gallery of Art, Brooklyn Museum, Mus. Cernuschi, Mus. Guimet, Mus. f. Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg, Univ. Museum Philadelphia, colls. Ernest Erickson, Oeder, Higginson (2 vessels), Hardt, Rosenheim.

In some sporadic cases the décor is executed in thread relief, as in Pl. 46 a (Bluett); a similar vessel in the University Museum Philadelphia, another in Exhibition Pl. 6 and one in Burchard I Pl. 24.

Type 7. A small group has the same general arrangement, but only the forehead Shield of the T'aot'ie and large Birds in high relief. Example: Pl. 11 a (C. T. Loo); further: Burchard I Pl. 23; Tsun 1: 32.

A quite isolated case of a Dragon with large spiral body, of the type so common on Eared Kuei A (see *Marginalia* I p. 303) occurs in Pl. 46 b (Shuangkien k'iwu shang 9).

The frequent occurrence of flanking Birds on the Tsun, as witnessed in types 6. and 7., is interesting, since it contrasts with the décor grammar of all the classes of vessel studied earlier, viz. Round and Square Ting, Li-ting, Kuei, Yu. In these classes the Bird in the décor of the principal surface (belly), flanking the T'aot'ie (or its abbreviated form), is exceedingly rare (for an isolated exception see *Marginalia* I Pl. 22 b).

Type 8. T'aot'ie on the bulb, figures on the foot, neck bare. Unlike categories 6. and 7. we have here mostly stout vertical Flanges on bulb and foot. Examples: (T'aot'ie on foot:) Pl. 11 b; further: Kidder Pl. 3; Shuangkien kikin 23; Hakkaku 6 (this without Flanges); Kwankarō A 32 (thin Flanges on bulb only).

(Dragons on foot:) Pl. 12 a (Buffalo Museum); further: Seikwa 16; Tsun 1: 28.

(Birds on foot, tiny Flanges:) Paoyün 100 (= Voretzsch Fig. 11).

Type 9. T'aot'ie on bulb and foot; on the neck Rising Blades, usually filled with Dragons (heads downward, tail-ends meeting at the top, often forming a kind of T'aot'ie as seen from above);¹⁾ at the bottom of the neck mostly a narrow belt with Dragons, Snakes, Birds.

There are three principal variants:

α. No Flange at all on the neck, only on bulb and foot. Examples: Pl. 12 b (C. T. Loo); 13 a; further: Mizuno Pl. 82.

β. Flange on bulb and foot and on the bottom belt of the neck, but not on the

¹⁾ These confronted Dragons are sometimes quite elaborate, with eyes, eyebrows, horns etc. visible, sometimes reduced to a few summary lines. The many variants of this motif have been studied in detail in B. Karlgren, *Notes on the Grammar of early Bronze Décor*, BMFEA 23, p. 29 ff. and Figs. 556—640.

tall, flaring part. Examples: Pl. 13 b (Lochow 9); 14 a; further: Voretzsch Fig. 13; Shūkan Pl. 19; Paoyūn 103, 104; Shierkia VIII: 6; Shuangkien k'iwu shang 11.

γ. Flanges on bulb, foot and the entire neck. Examples: Pl. 14 b (Pillsbury Pl. 39); Pl. 15 a (Freer Gallery); further: BMFEA 9 Pl. 20; Eumorfopoulos I: 6; Maandblad 8 p. 255; Lochow 8; Senoku 22, 23; Seikwa 2, 13; Nedzu 19; Shuangkien k'iwu shang 10; vessels in Cleveland Museum of Art and colls. Brundage, C. T. Loo, Yamanaka.

A slight variation both in regard to the Flanges and the Blade décor is offered by Pl. 15 b (Freer Gallery); here the Flange on the neck has a triangular cross-section and is less high than on the bulb and the foot; an analogous case in Seikwa 15 (Menten coll.).

Two eccentric Tsun in Hakkaku 4 and Seikwa 14 have curiously deformed Dragons etc. in the décor and the Flanges broken up into rows of hook-like projections — typical of Early Chou. Another unusual specimen in Pl. 47 a has the same kind of Dragon with a large spiral body as the one in Pl. 46 b discussed under 7 above. Again, there is an aberrant type in Pl. 47 b (Cleveland Museum of Art) which combines with the forceful T'aot'ie and Birds in the high relief of the A style the Vertical ribs which normally form a criterion of the B style, thus a mixture of style; an almost identical vessel in Dubosc No. 22.

Some concluding remarks:

In the first place it should be pointed out that the highly important A-style motif Cicada does not enter into the décor scheme of the Tsun A. We have seen that whereas the Cicada plays a prominent rôle in Round Ting A and Li-ting A, it does not figure in Kuei A, Yu A and Square Ting A. Now the Tsun follows the latter group. This is all the more curious since the Cicada is current in the class Ku A, as filling of narrow belts similar to our narrow belts on the lower part of the Tsun's neck, and since there is such a strong affinity between Tsun and Ku (cf. chapter four below).

Secondly, the motif Whorl circle, which is frequent in the classes Round Ting A, Li-ting A, Eared Kuei A, but is absent in Earless Kuei A, Yu A, and Square Ting A, is likewise missing in Tsun A.

In the third place, the motif Dragon with a large spiral body, important in the class Eared Kuei, occurs here only in some stray cases.

In the fourth place, there is the interesting treatment of the Flanges. We have seen earlier that the forceful coherent T'aot'ie of the A style as a rule had stout vertical Flanges in the centre of the face and behind the back (dividing the field into panels) in Round Ting, in a limited group of Li-ting, in Earless Kuei in Yu and in Square Ting, whereas the largest category of Li-ting and all the Eared Kuei had either no Flange at all or else very low and tiny ones. Our Tsun follow the Eared Kuei in this respect (having no Flanges) in the large category with bare neck and foot (type 6.), but it often follows the other group, showing stout Flanges, in the categories with décor on foot and neck.

The T'aot'ie.

It has already been pointed out that all the three principal versions of this motif: Bodied T'aot'ie, Disjointed T'aot'ie and Mask T'aot'ie occur in our Tsun class.

Formation of the forehead décor.

a. In certain of the classes examined earlier there was an interesting contrast between T'aot'ie with hooked forehead Shield and those with forehead Bow-line. It was shown that T'aot'ie as Uni-décor (i. e. without a figured neck belt) in Lit-ting always and in Round Ting mostly had a Bow-line, whereas T'aot'ie surmounted by a figured neck belt in those classes regularly had Shield; but that Yu, even though having a figured neck belt, had a Bow-line in a certain category. On the other hand, Eared Kuei and Earless Kuei regularly had a Shield and never a Bow-line, even in cases with Uni-décor. And the same holds good, as we have just seen, in regard to Square Ting.

Here, in Tsun, our type 6. corresponds very closely in general outlay to the Uni-décor groups mentioned (in Round Ting and Li-ting), having a large T'aot'ie extending from top-line to bottom-line of the bulb (and no décor on the neck). In spite of this, the T'aot'ie regularly has the forehead Shield, never Bow-line. (Very rare exceptions are our Pl. 13 b and Nedzu 19). The Shield is in fact universal in the Tsun, not only in category 6. but also in categories 7, 8 and 9. The Tsun thus follows the grammar of the Kuei and Square Ting as against that of Round Ting, Li-ting and Yu.

b. The formation of the Shield offers another interesting point. The Shield as occurring in Round Ting, Li-ting, Earless Kuei and Yu was always single-hooked, as in our Pl. 9 a, whether on Bodied, Disjointed or Mask T'aot'ie; in Eared Kuei (Bodied or Disjointed T'aot'ie), on the other hand, it was often double-hooked, as in our Pl. 9 b (see *Marginalia I* p. 325), and so it was, we have just seen, in Square Ting. In our Tsun class here the T'aot'ie (whether Bodied, Disjointed or Mask T'aot'ie) has to a large extent the double-hooked Shield:

Single-hooked Shield: our Pls. 9 a, 10 a, 11 b, 12 a, b, 13 a, 14 a, b, 15 a, b; further: BMFEA 9 Pl. 20; Voretzsch Pl. 13; Eumorfopoulos I: 6; Burchard II Pl. 10; Parnassus II: 3; Maandblad 8 p. 255; White Pls. 96, 98; Lochow 8; Senoku 16, 19, 22; Seikwa 2, 13; Hakkaku 6; Kwankarō A 32; Paoyün 100, 103, 104; Tsun 1: 28, 30, 31, 35; Shant'u 131; Shierkia VIII: 6; Shuangkien kikin 23; Shuangkien k'iwu shang 10, 11; vessels in the National Museum Stockholm, Mus. f. Ostas. Kunst Köln, Musée Guimet, colls. Hardt, Oeder, Brundage, C. T. Loo, Yamanaka.

Double-hooked Shield: our Pls. 9 b, 10 b, 11 a; further: BMFEA 6: Pl. 18; *ibid.* 20 Pl. 11; Ackerman Pl. 38; Consten, *Das alte China* Pl. 22; Kidder Pl. 3; Senoku 16—18; Seikwa 16, 19, 20, 24, 25; Hakkaku 7; Paoyün 99; Shuangkien kikin 24; vessels in Röhsska Konstslojdsmuseet Gothenburg, Univ. Museum Philadelphia, Brooklyn Museum, Mus. f. Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg, Musée Cernuschi, Nelson Gallery of Art; colls. Ernest Erickson, A. C. von Frey, Higginson, Carter.

The fine vessel Mizuno Pl. 82 has no forehead embellishment at all — a very rare thing.

The frequent appearance of the double-hooked Shield marks a curious affinity with the Eared Kuei class which frequently has this motif (as against Round Ting, Li-ting, Earless Kuei and Yu), just as we have seen that Square Ting agrees with Eared Kuei in this respect.

Formation of the horn.

In the large category 6. (bare foot and neck) we find:

Recumbent-C horn in Pls. 9 a, b, 10 b; further: BMFEA 6 Pl. 18; *ibid.* 20 Pl. 11; Burchard I: 24 and II: 10; Consten Pl. 22; Ackerman Pl. 38; White Pl. 98; Parnassus II: 3; Senoku 16—19; Seikwa 16, 20, 23; Hakkaku 7; Paoyün 99; Tsun 1: 30, 31, 35; Shuangkien kikin shang 24; vessels in the National Museum Stockholm, Röhsska Museet Gothenburg, Musée Cernuschi, Musée Guimet, Univ. Museum Philadelphia, Mus. f. Ostas. Kunst Köln, Brooklyn Museum, Nelson Gallery of Art, vessels in colls. Ernest Erickson, Carter, von Frey, Oeder, Hardt, Higginson.

S-horn in Pl. 10 a and Seikwa 19.

Standing C-horn in Seikwa 24, 25, vessels in Mus. f. Kunst u. Gewerbe Hamburg, coll. Higginson.

In cat. 8 (figured bulb and foot, neck bare) we find:

Recumbent-C horn in Shuangkien kikin 23; Seikwa 16; Paoyün 100.

S horn in Pl. 11 b, 12 a; Hakkaku 6; Kwankarō A 32; Tsun 1: 28.

In cat. 9 (figured bulb, foot and neck):

Recumbent-C horn in Pl. 13 a, 15 a; Nedzu 19; vessels in colls. Brundage and C. T. Loo.

S horn in Shuangkien k'iwu 11.

Standing-C horn in Shūkan 19.

Recumbent-C horn on bulb, Standing-C horn on foot in Pl. 13 b; Shierkia VIII: 6, Kidder Pl. 3.

Recumbent-C horn on bulb, S horn on foot in Pl. 14 a, b; BMFEA 9: 20; Voretzsch 13; Maandblad 8 p. 255; Eumorfopoulos I: 6; Lochow 8; Seikwa 2; Senoku 22, 23; Mizuno Pl. 82; Paoyün 102—104; Shuangkien k'iwu shang 10; vessel in Yamana coll.

Bovine horn on bulb, S horn on foot in Seikwa 13.

Bovine horn on bulb, Standing-C horn on foot in the case of a vessel in Cleveland Museum.

This distribution of the various types is highly curious. Here again, as in all the vessel classes studied previously, there is a strongly conventionalized system:

The T'aot'ie on the bulb has preferably the Recumbent-C horn: 65 instances cited above, as against 8 cases of S horn and 6 cases of Standing-C horn.

The T'aot'ie on the foot, on the contrary, has preferably the S horn: 26 examples above; Recumbent-C horn 9 examples; Standing C horn 5 examples.

The most surprising phenomenon, however, is that in the category (type 8. above) with T'aot'ie on both bulb and foot but bare neck the horns are of the same type in both zones, but in the category (type 9. above) with T'aot'ie on both bulb and foot and a figured neck, there are only 7 cases with the same kinds of horns but no less than 19 cases with different types of horns on bulb and foot. Naturally these figures only concern the materials adduced in this

paper, and a great many unpublished vessels may exist which diverge from these "rules", but the tendencies are quite clear.

Some remarks should be added about the décor on the horns.

On the one hand, the Consecutive hooks and the Scale pattern, both common on the horns in the class Li-ting, are entirely absent here, in spite of the fact that we have here quite often Mask T'aot'ie without central Flange of quite the same type as in the largest Li-ting category.

On the other hand, the C-hooked quill border, which, as we have seen, was quite exceptional in the classes Round Ting, Li-ting, Kuei and Yu, appears here, not very often but in an appreciable number of instances, e. g. Pls. 10 a, 12 a, 15 a, Seikwa 13, 19, 24, 25, Nedzu 19, Tsun 1: 31, 35. In this respect, our Tsun class follows the same line as Square Ting.

The mouth line.

The curious functional distinction in the classes Round Ting and Li-ting between Outcurving mouth (T'aot'ie on vessels without figured neck-belt) and Incurving mouth (vessels with figured neck-belt) has no counterpart in our Tsun class. The Incurving mouth is the most common in all the categories, but everywhere there are a considerable number of cases with Outcurving mouth. Of the numerous vessels enumerated in categories 6, 8 and 9 above we find the Outcurving variety in the following:

Type 6: BMFEA 20: 11; Burchard I: 24 and II: 10; White Pl. 98; Senoku 19; Seikwa 19; Hakkaku 7; Shuangkien kikin shang 24; vessels in the National Museum Stockholm, Musée Guimet, Röhsska Konstsöjdmuseet Gothenburg, coll. von Frey.

Types 8, 9: Pls. 15 a, b; Shuangkien kikin shang 23; vessels in Cleveland Museum of Art; colls. Brundage and C. T. Loo.

Furthermore with Outcurving mouth on the bulb but Incurving mouth on the foot: Kidder Pl. 3; Lochow 9; Seikwa 2, 13; Hakkaku 6; Nedzu 19; Shierkia 8: 6.

The last seven instances form an interesting parallel to the contrast between bulb and foot décor which we observed in the preceding paragraph (the shape of the T'aot'ie horn).

Background of the T'aot'ie.

A bare background (without the common spiral pattern in low relief) was common in the Eared Kuei class and was permitted though not frequent in the Yu class, but exceptional in Ting, (round and square), Li-ting and Earless Kuei. Here in our Tsun class it occurs quite frequently:

Our Pls. 9 a, 12 a, 14 a; further: Ackerman Pl. 38; Kidder Pl. 3; Burchard I: 24; Parnassus II: 3; Maandblad 8 p. 255; Senoku 23; Seikwa 16, 20; Paoyün 99, 103, 104; Shuangkien kikin shang 24; Shuangkien k'iwu shang 10; Shant'u 131; Tsun 1: 28, 35; vessels in the National Museum Stockholm, Brooklyn Museum, Cleveland

Museum of Art, Mus. f. Ostas. Kunst Köln; in colls. Erickson, Brundage, Hardt, Oeder. (Also in Jung No. 499, a vessel with several aberrant features).

On this point, consequently, the Tsun class has a strong affinity with the Eared Kuei.

II. TSUN B.

It has been described earlier how the Li-ting class had only exceptionally any specimens in B style, whereas Round and Square Ting, Eared and Earless Kuei and Yu had large B-style categories.

Our Tsun class shows tendencies in the direction of the Li-ting class: B-style Tsun are certainly not exceptional, but they are far less numerous than those in A style studied above. The materials are not sufficiently comprehensive to allow of a detailed typological analysis; we indicate only summarily some principal types.

Type 10. Bulb decorated, neck and foot bare, no Flanges. There are several variants:

a. On the one hand, there is a motif covering the whole bulb. Examples:

(Dissolved T'aot'ie bordered by Circle bands:) Pl. 16 a (Shuangkien kikin shang 25).

(Large Square with crescents:) Pl. 16 b (Shuangkien k'iwu shang 13); further: Seikwa 22; Shuangkien k'iwu shang 16.

b. On the other hand — a more common feature — there are narrow décor bands on the upper and lower parts of the bulb:

(Birds, de-tailed or not, central zone bare:) Pl. 17 a (MFEA); two similar vessels in C. T. Loo collection.

(Turning dragons, central zone bare:) Pl. 17 b (Ill. Cat. 7); further: Hakkaku 8; Nedzu 36.

(Spiral bands or bands with Diagonals, central zone bare:) Pl. 18 a (Senoku 21); Shant'u 130.

(Birds, central zone Vertical ribs:) Pl. 18 b (coll. of H. M. the King of Sweden); further: Jung 515.

An exceptional specimen with only one narrow décor band (Turning dragons) on the middle of the bulb in Shuangkien k'iwu shang 17.

Type 11. On the one hand, bulb and foot decorated, neck bare, tiny Flanges on bulb:

(Dissolved T'aot'ie or Animal triple band:) Pl. 19 a (C. T. Loo); further: BMFEA 9 Pl. 49; Visser Pl. 13; Senoku 20 (all with the bulb T'aot'ie bordered by Circle bands).

A more complete T'aot'ie on the bulb and deformed Dragons on the foot but still Circle bands: Pl. 48 a (C. T. Loo) is a mixture of A and B décor (a similar vessel in D. Cohen coll.). Pl. 48 b (coll. of H. M. the King of Sweden) is very unusual: Eyed band with diagonals and Circle bands on the bulb, dissolved Dragons in open-work on the foot, no Flanges; Pl. 49 a (Yenk'u shang 19) a similar vessel, yet with the foot pattern not broken through but only incised.

On the other hand, bulb and foot decorated, neck bare, stout Flanges: Pl. 19 b (Koop Pl. 4).

Type 12. Décor on bulb, foot and neck:

(Squares with crescents on bulb, Dragons and Circle bands of foot, Dragons and Rising blades on neck, Flanges on bulb and foot:) Pl. 20 a (Senoku 24); a similar vessel (minus the Circle bands and the foot Flange) in BMFEA 9 Pl. 49.

Pl. 49 b (Si Ts'ing shiyi 13) with Dissolved T'aot'ie on all three parts is quite exceptional. For highly eccentric Tsun which fall outside the normal types see for instance Seikwa 14 and 21.

Even from the very limited materials at our disposal we can discern that several important features typical of the B style are absent in the Tsun class: Compound lozenges (with or without Spikes) and Interlocked T's. A "neutral" element (i. e. current in both A and B style) of considerable importance in some previously discussed classes (particularly the Kuei) namely the Whorl circle is likewise missing both in Tsun A and Tsun B.

CHAPTER THREE: SHOULDERED TSUN

Here, as in the preceding class, we leave aside the few square specimens and discuss only the round ones. The great majority belong to the A style, B-style specimens are quite rare.

I. TSUN A.

There is nothing here corresponding to type 6. in the preceding chapter (T'aot'ie on bulb; foot and neck bare). The commonest type is:

Type 13. Décor on bulb, foot and neck; as a rule Flanges on bulb and foot, rarely on neck; large Free animal's heads on the shoulder. On the bulb regularly T'aot'ie, above which is a narrow band with various figures (Dragons, Birds, Whorl circles etc.); on the foot T'aot'ie; on the shoulder and a narrow band on the base of the neck again various figures (as above); on the neck tall Rising blades. In this category the vessels are mostly comparatively tall, the squat variety is rare. There are several variants:

a. On the one hand, the T'aot'ie, here Mask T'aot'ie and Disjointed T'aot'ie, is forceful and prominent. Examples: Pl. 20 b (Freer Gallery), 21 a (Kanan Pl. 38); further: BMFEA 9 Pl. 20; Senoku 30; Seikwa 31; Nedzu 10; Mizuno Pls. 58, 59; Yechung II shang 10 a; vessel in Higginson collection.

b. On the other hand, the T'aot'ie, here Bodied T'aot'ie, is rarely prominent, as in Pl. 21 b (C. T. Loo), mostly very thinned out, contrasting but little with the background, often somewhat "dragonized" as in Pl. 22 a (Brundage coll.), 22 b (C. T. Loo); they are strongly on their way to the dissolved T'aot'ie of the B style. Further examples: Pillsbury Pl. 41 (there defined as "B style" — an exaggeration,

though the T'aot'ie comes fairly near to being "dissolved"); Loo 1940 Pl. 7 (an unusually squat vessel); Senoku 29; Senoku zoku 176, 177; Hakkaku 11; Nedzu 13, 14; Kanan 37; Tsun 1: 37; vessel in the Brundage collection.

Pl. 50 a (= Yechung II: 10 b) is exceptional, having only Dragons on the foot and very small Rising blades, the T'aot'ie also has some unusual traits.

Type 14. Décor on bulb and foot, neck bare except for some parallel raised lines at the base. Examples: Pl. 23 a (Eumorf. I: 7); 23 b; further: Senoku 31. This small group really carries over to the B class below.

TSUN B.

Type 15. In this very limited category there is always a neck that is bare except for parallel raised lines, and generally a bare foot. On the bulb tiny Flanges (rarely on foot). Vessels usually broad and squat. On the bulb Dissolved T'aot'ie, above which are Circle band, Squares with crescents, Whorl circles etc. Examples: Pl. 24 a (Jung No. 498), 24 b (Lochow 7 = Yechung III shang 18), 25 a (Seikwa 33), 25 b (Seikwa 32 = Nedzu 24); Further: Burl. Mag. Monographs, Chinese Art 1925 Pl. 1; Yechung II shang 8; Mizuno Pl. 19.

CHAPTER FOUR: KU

The Ku class is one of the very largest of the archaic ritual bronzes. Hundreds of specimens are known, but many of them are of poor quality. We can study here only a selection of the best illustrated specimens. We shall deal exclusively with round Ku of the normal tripartite shape; on the analogy of the Tsun we shall call the middle section "the bulb".

I. KU A.

The shape of the Ku A is rarely stout, mostly very tall and slender; even the term "bulb" is often somewhat of a misnomer in so far that this middle section hardly bulges out at all, so that the profile forms an almost straight line in the centre.

Arrangement of the décor.

Type 16. A small category has T'aot'ie (mostly Mask T'aot'ie or Disjointed T'aot'ie) on the bulb, and foot and neck bare. Mostly a small Flange on the bulb. This group thus corresponds, to a certain extent, to cat. 6. in the Tsun class; but the latter as a rule has no Flange and, what is more important, cat. 6. in Tsun is a very large and important A-style category, whereas the present cat. 16. in Ku is very small, in fact a rare A counterpart to cat. 20 below in Ku B. Examples: Pl. 26 a (Musée Cernuschi). Further: Menten Pl. 6; Seikwa 56; Sungchai sü 68, 69;





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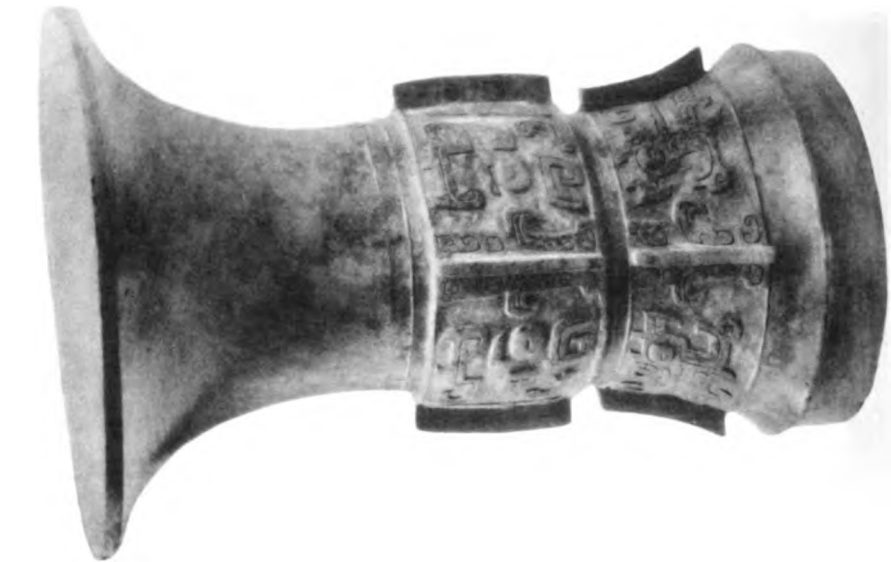


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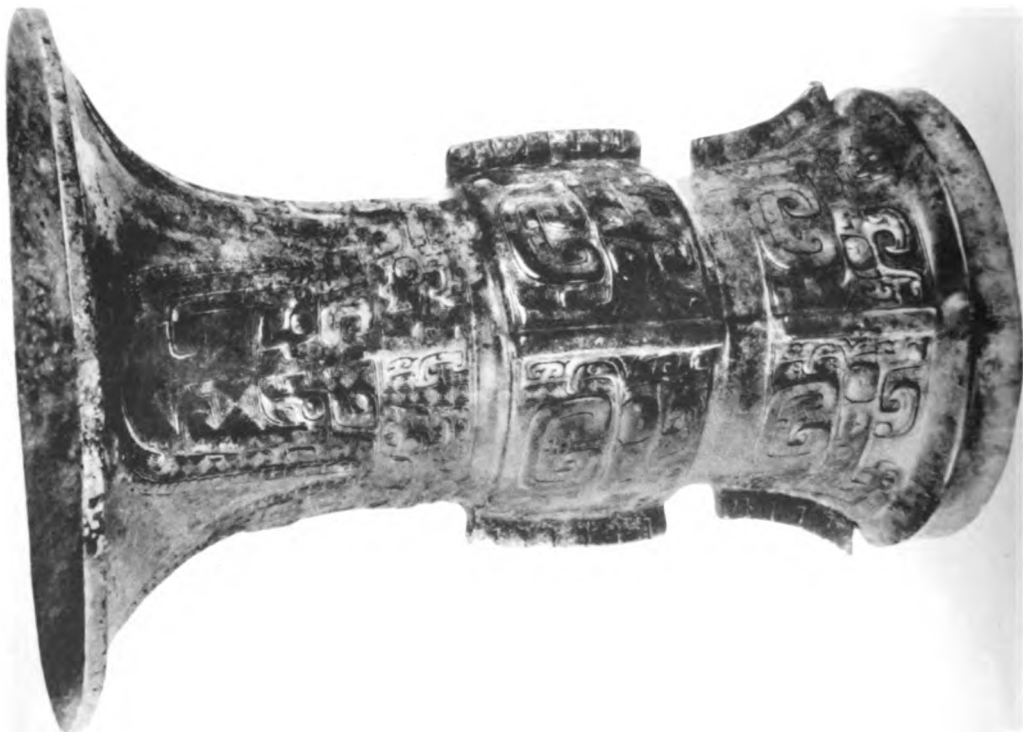


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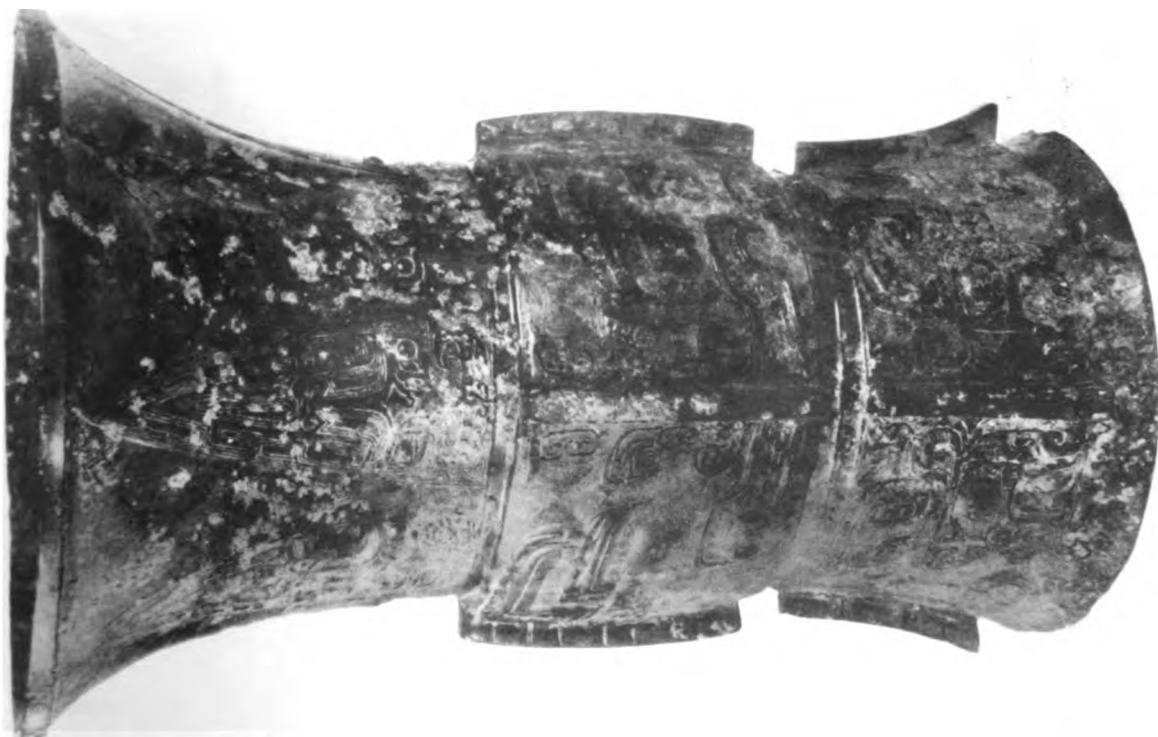


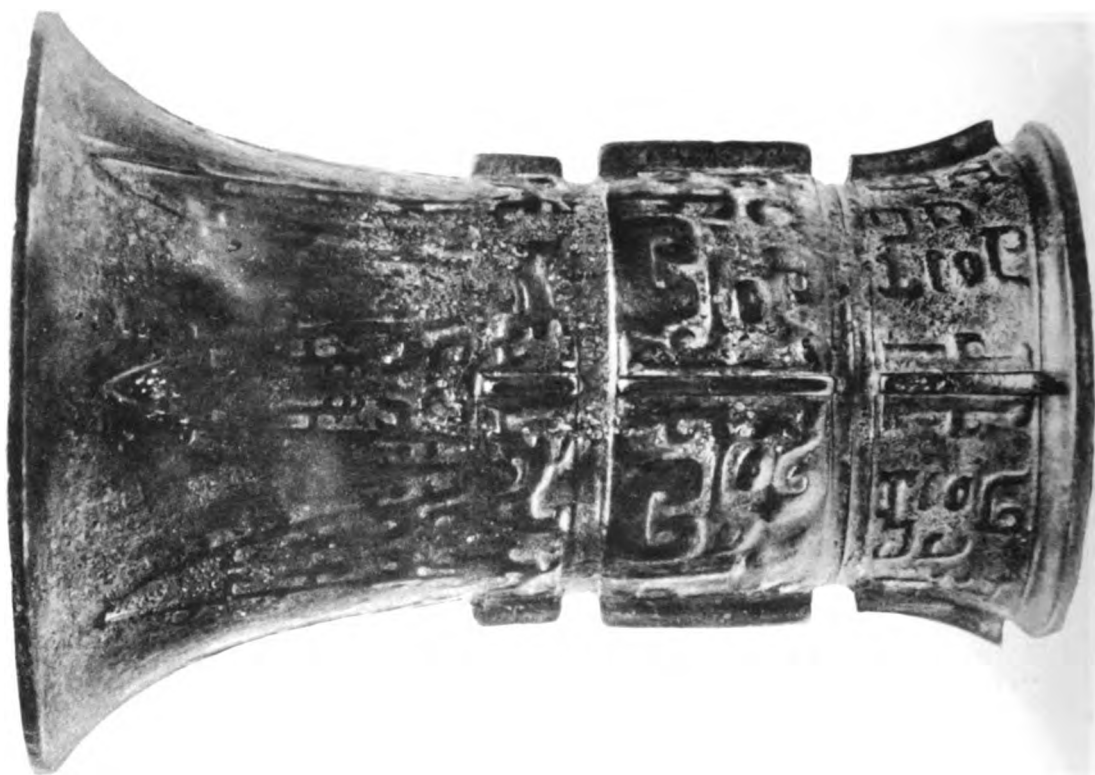


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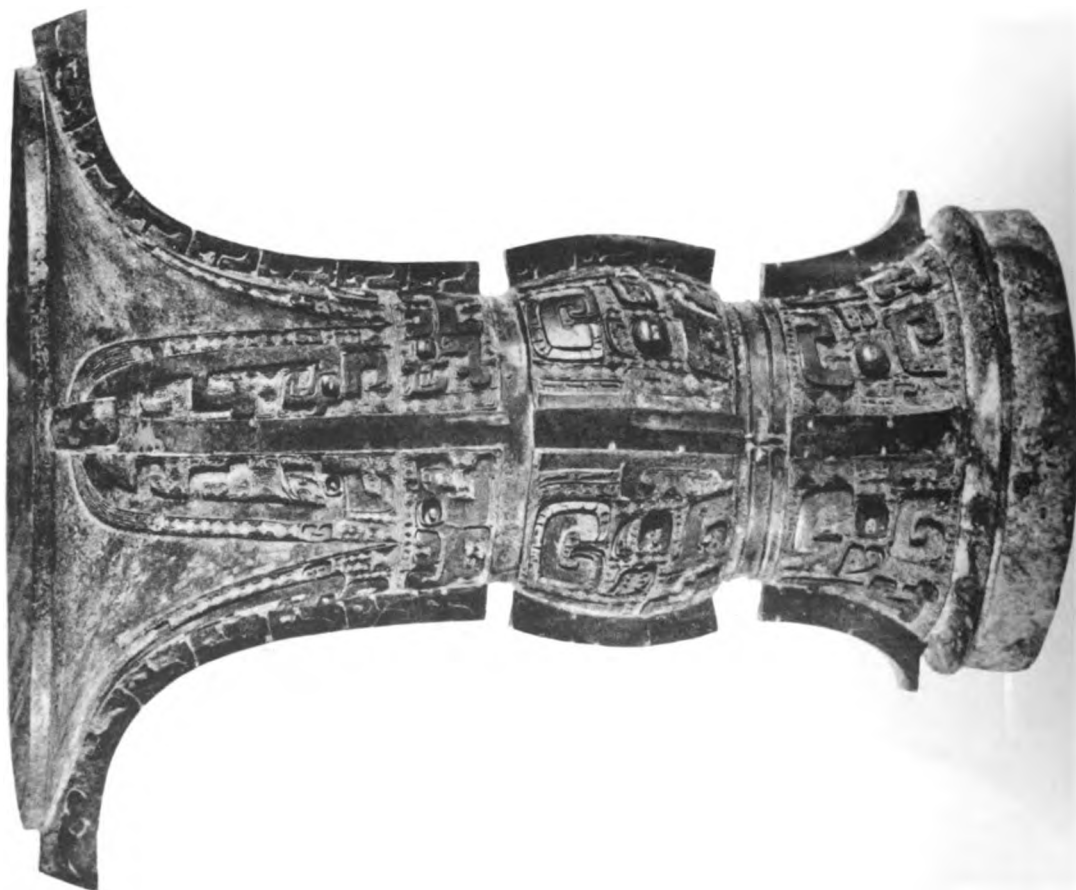


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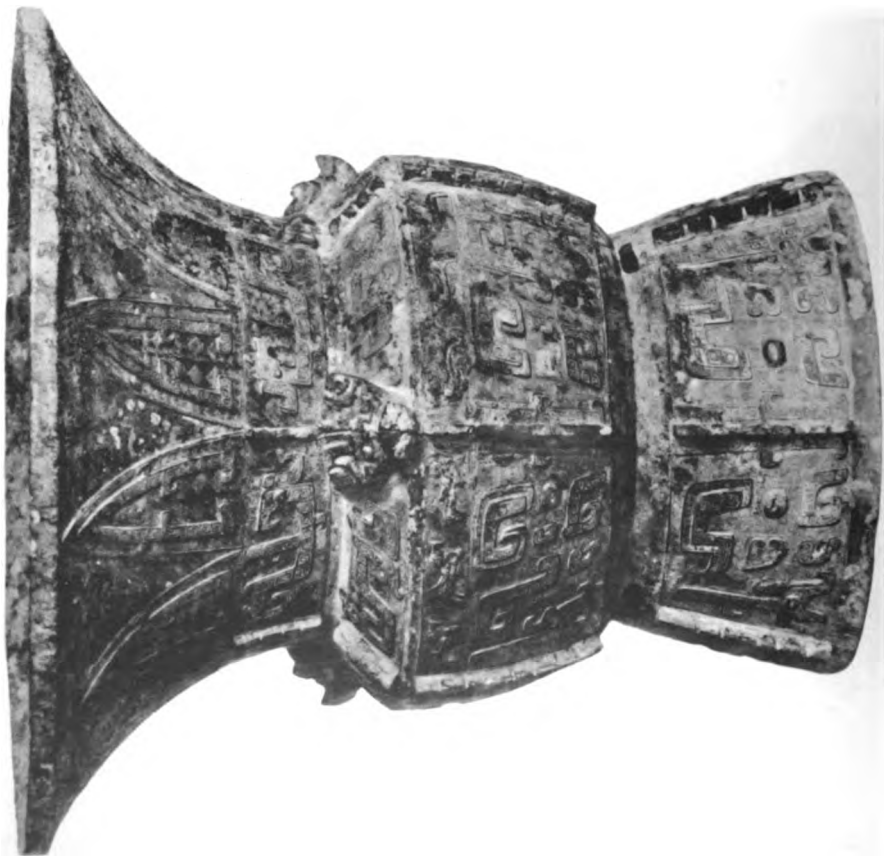
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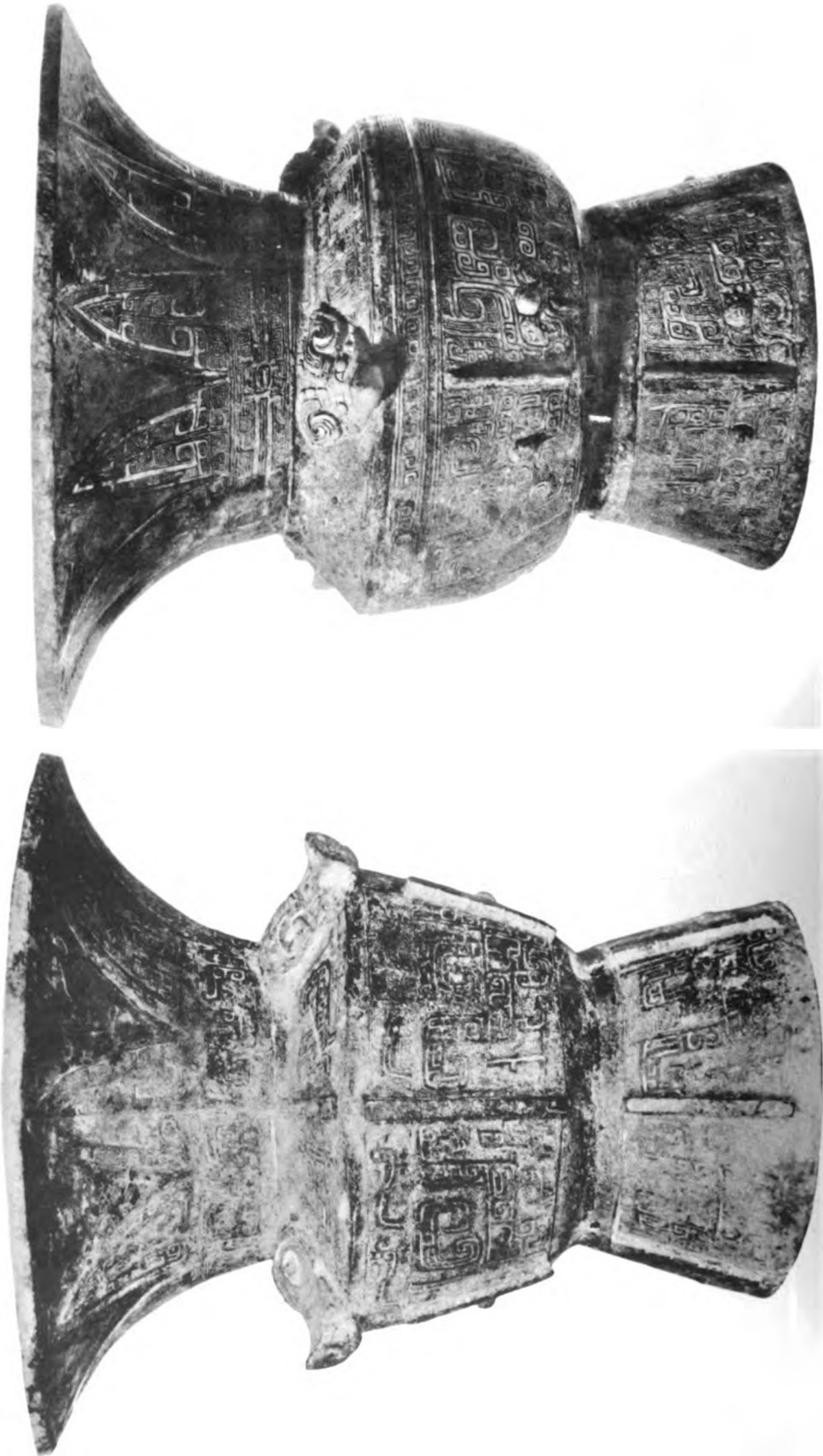
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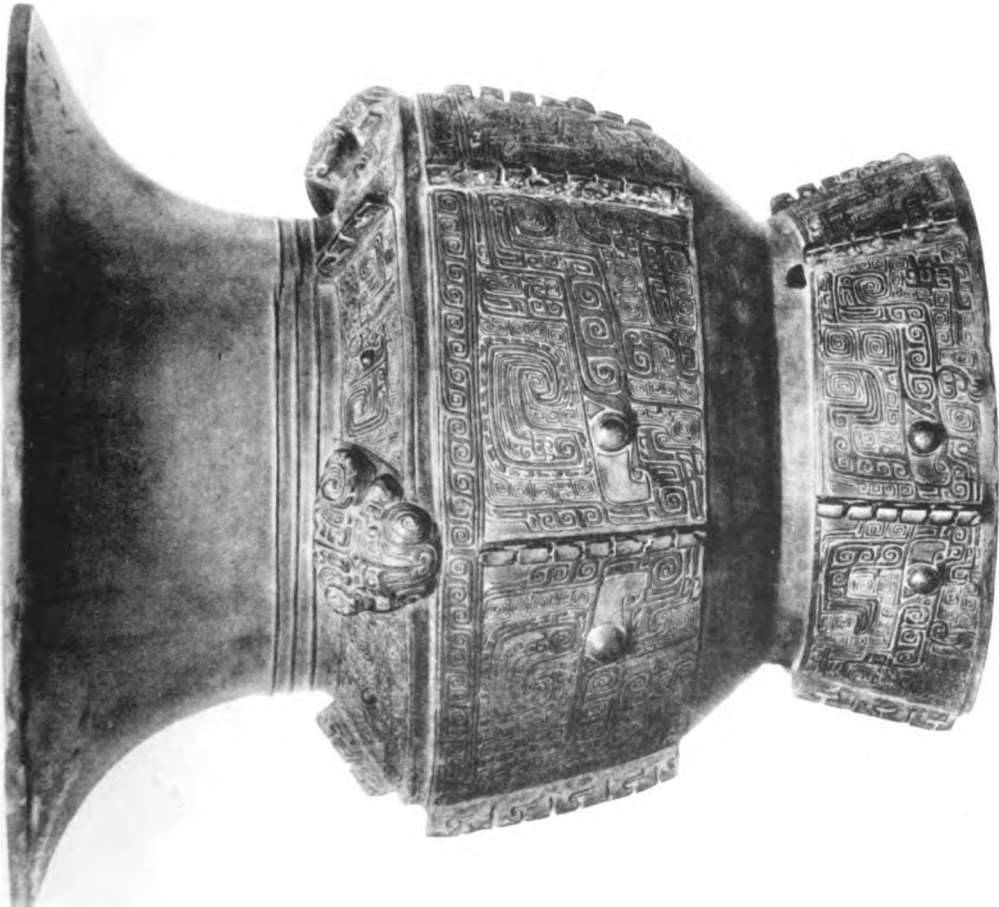


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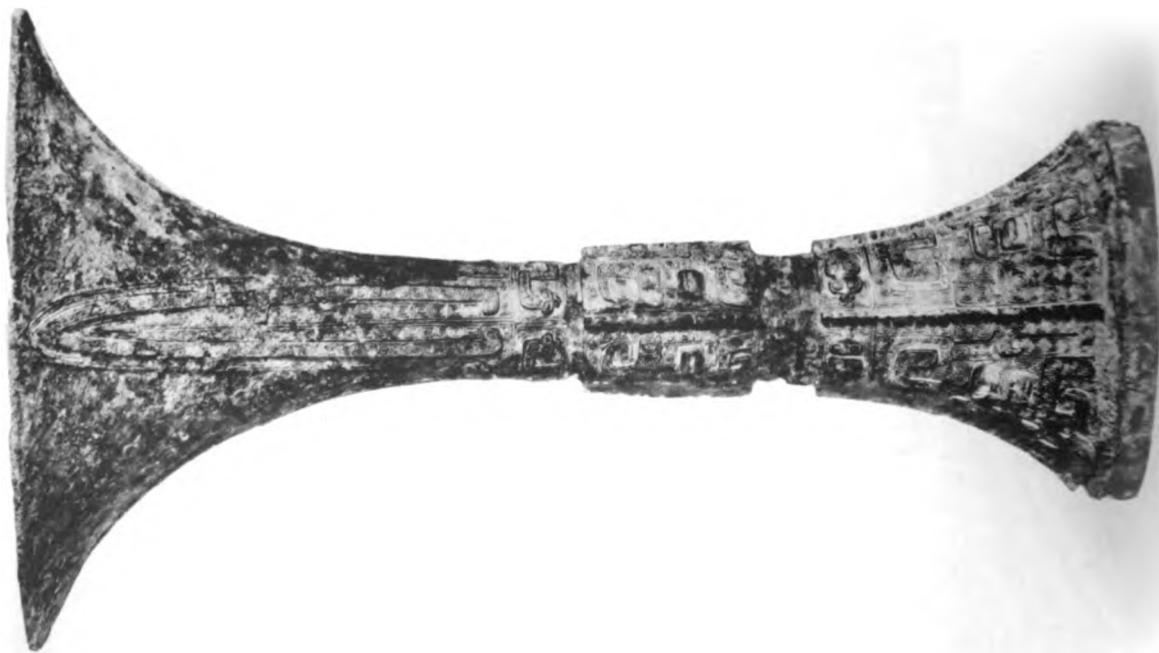
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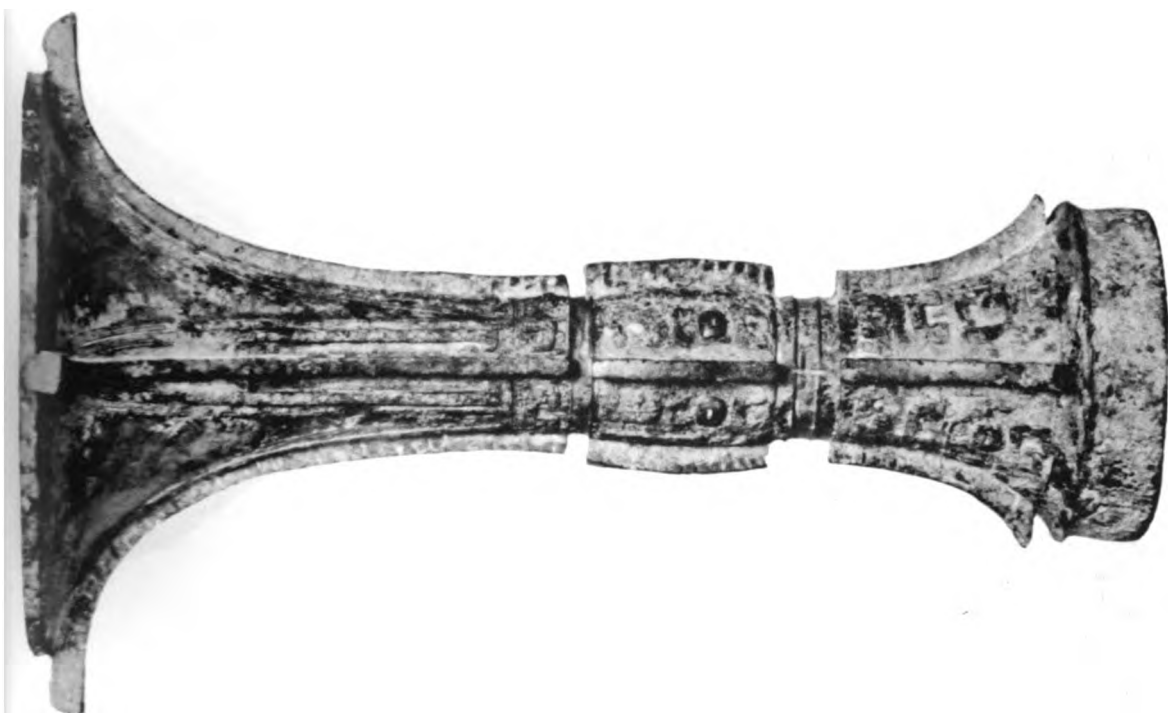


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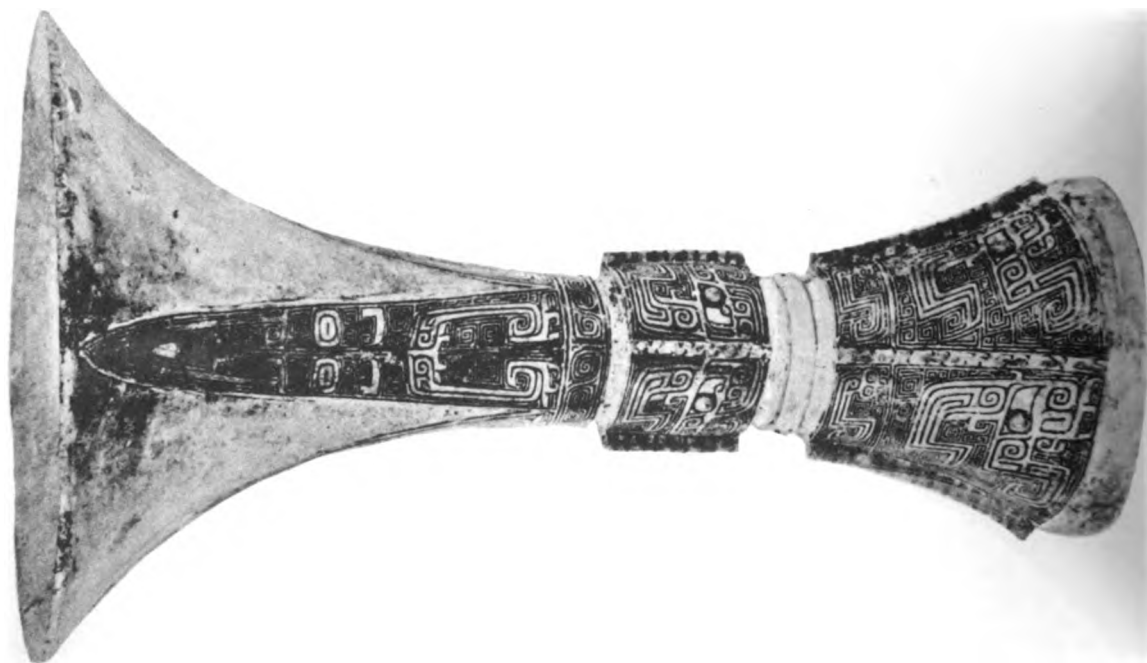




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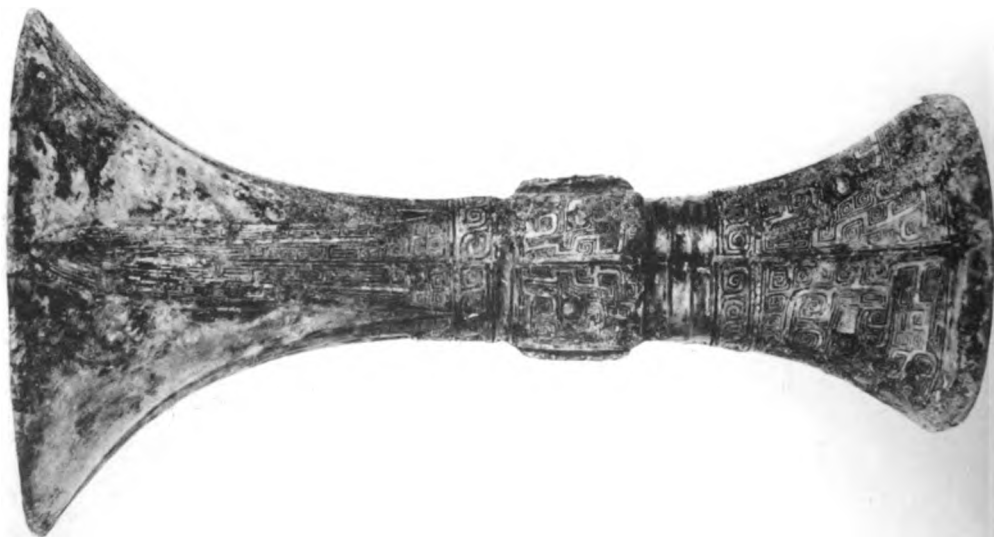
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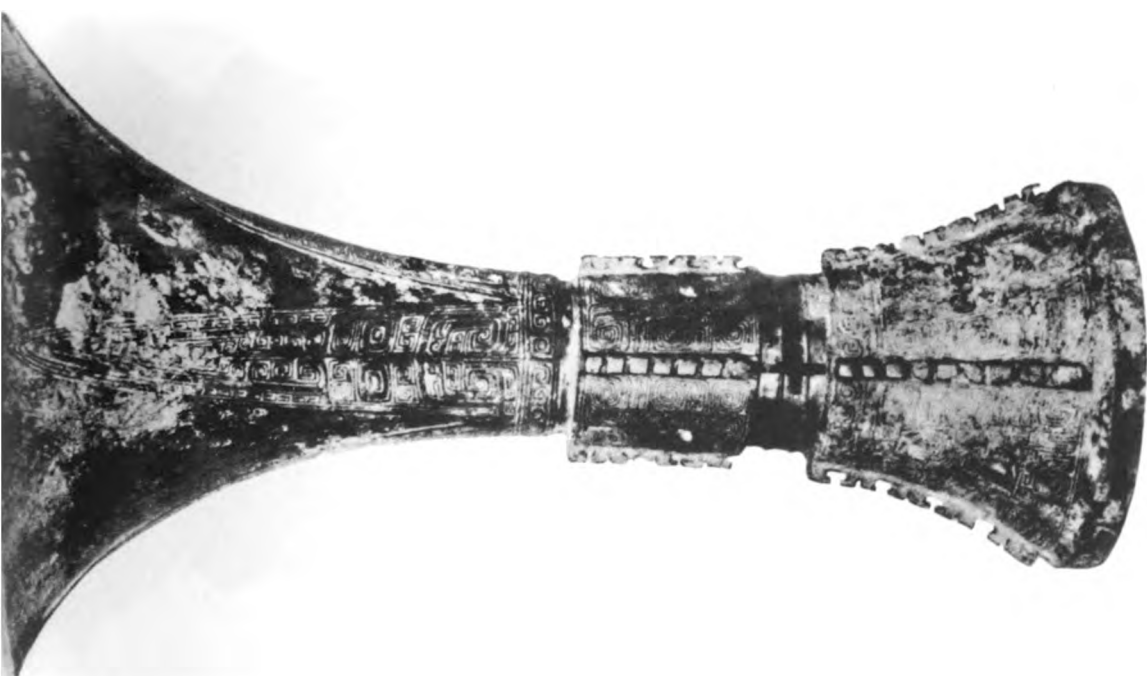
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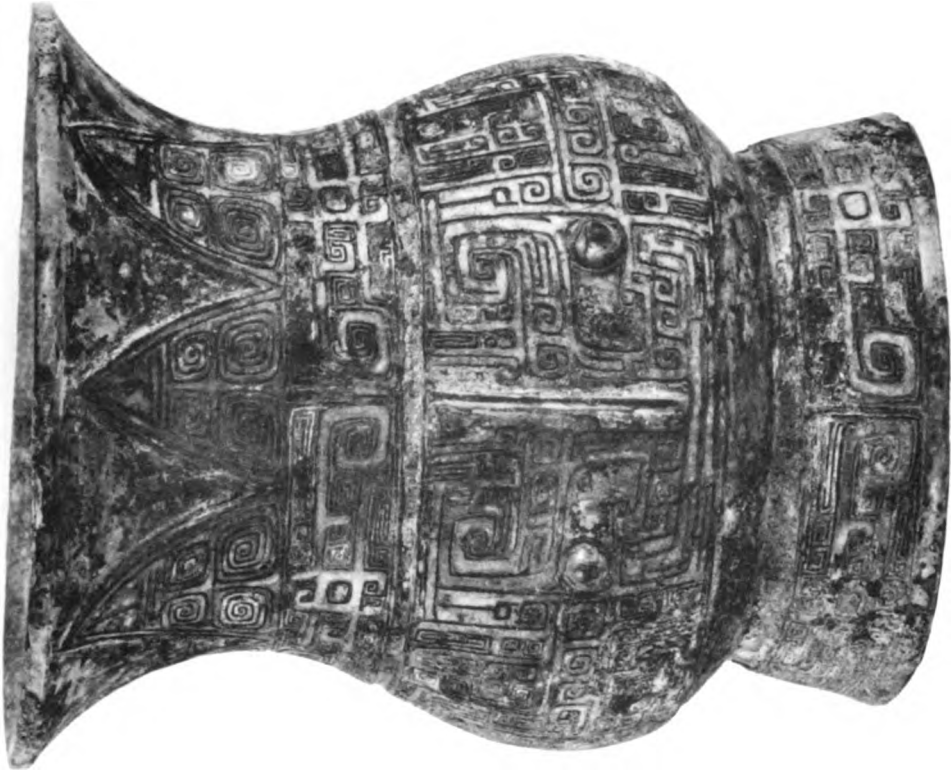
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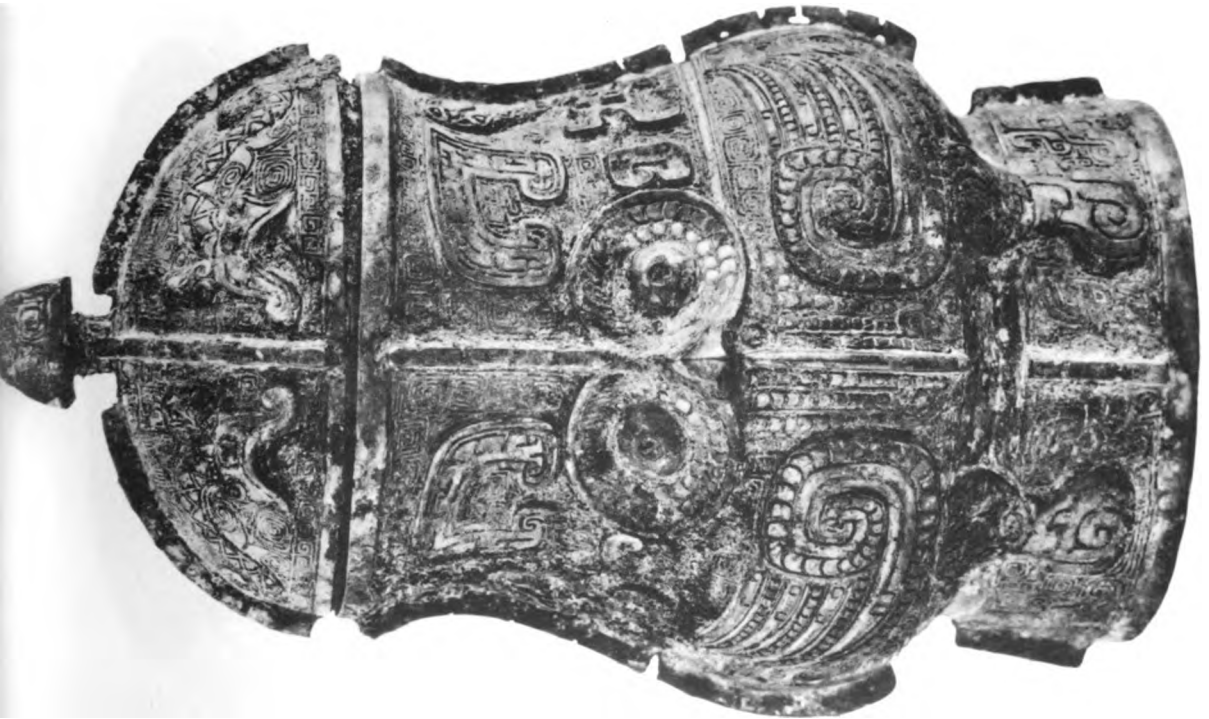
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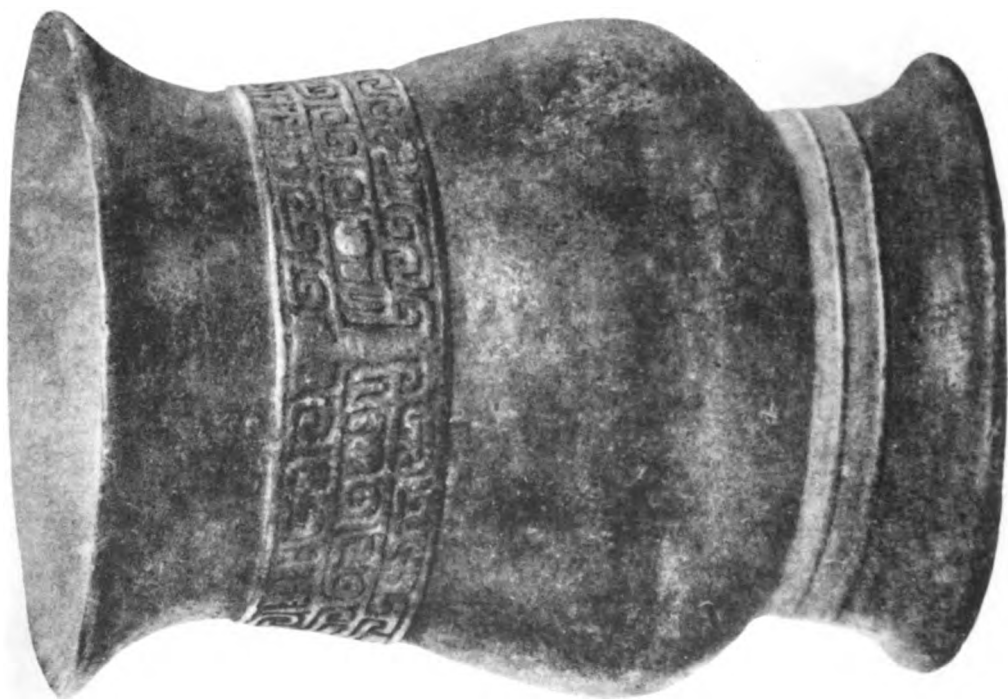
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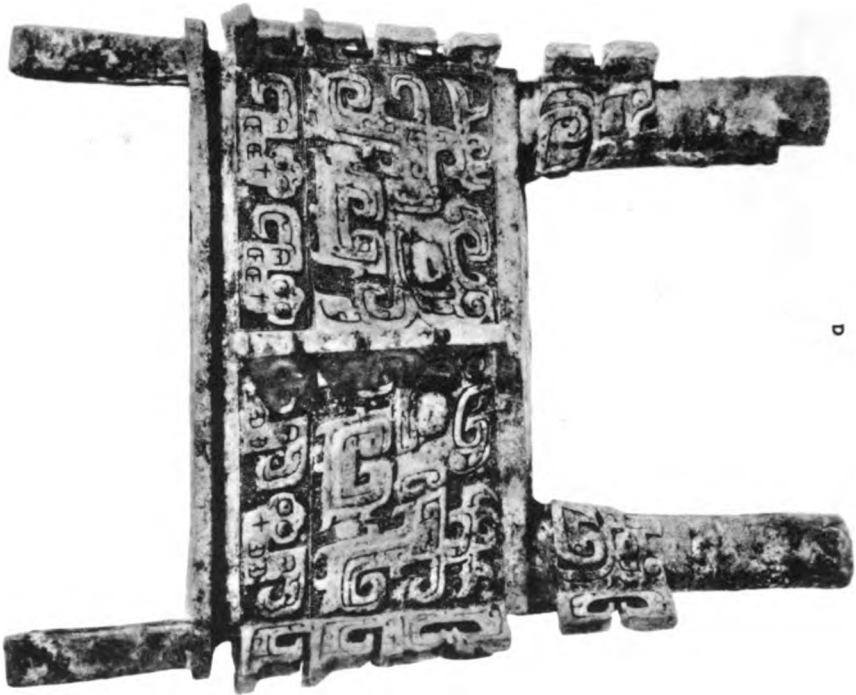


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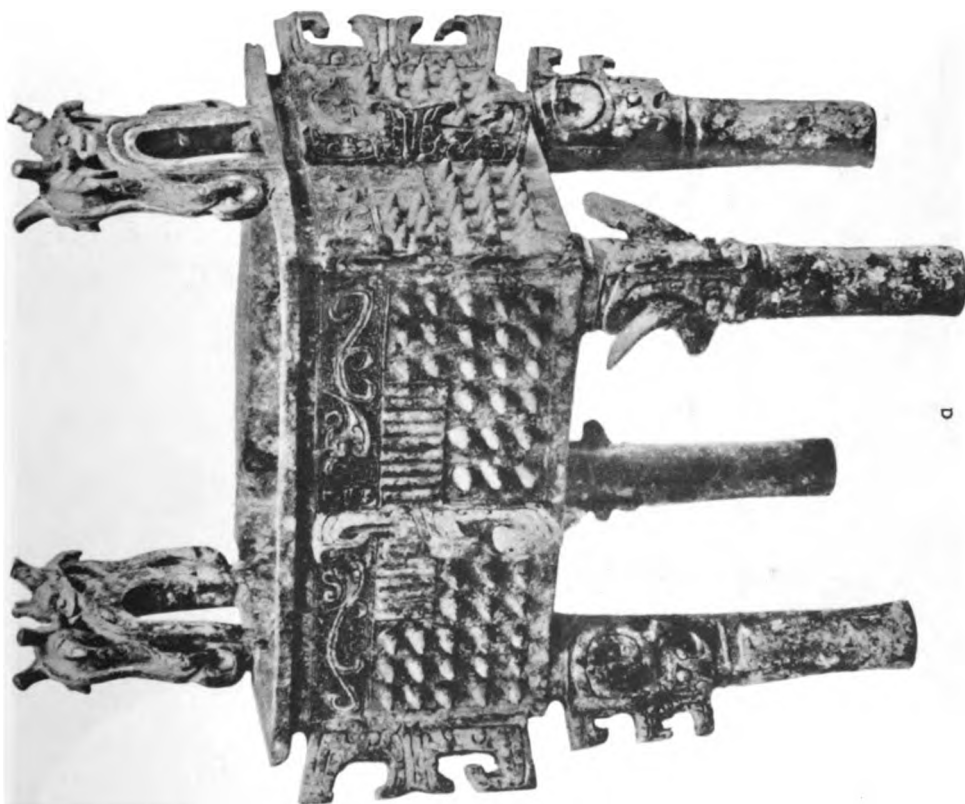
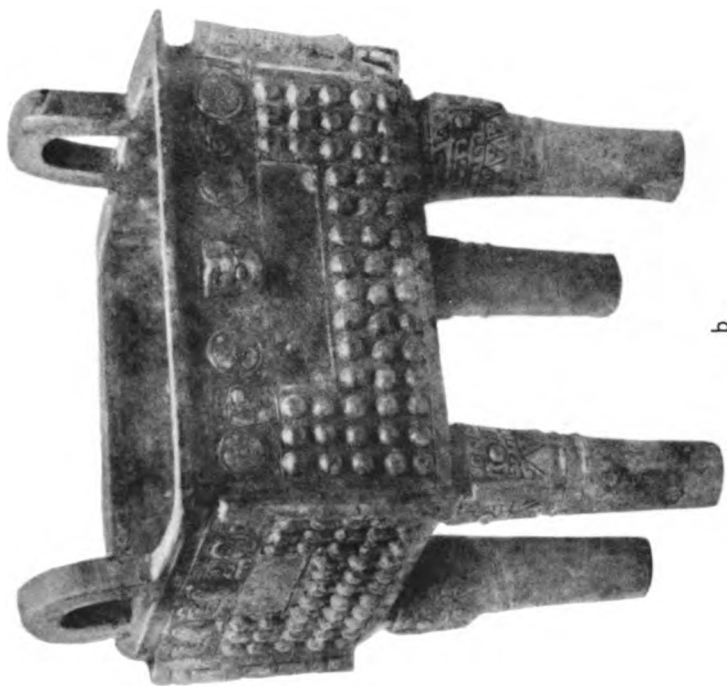




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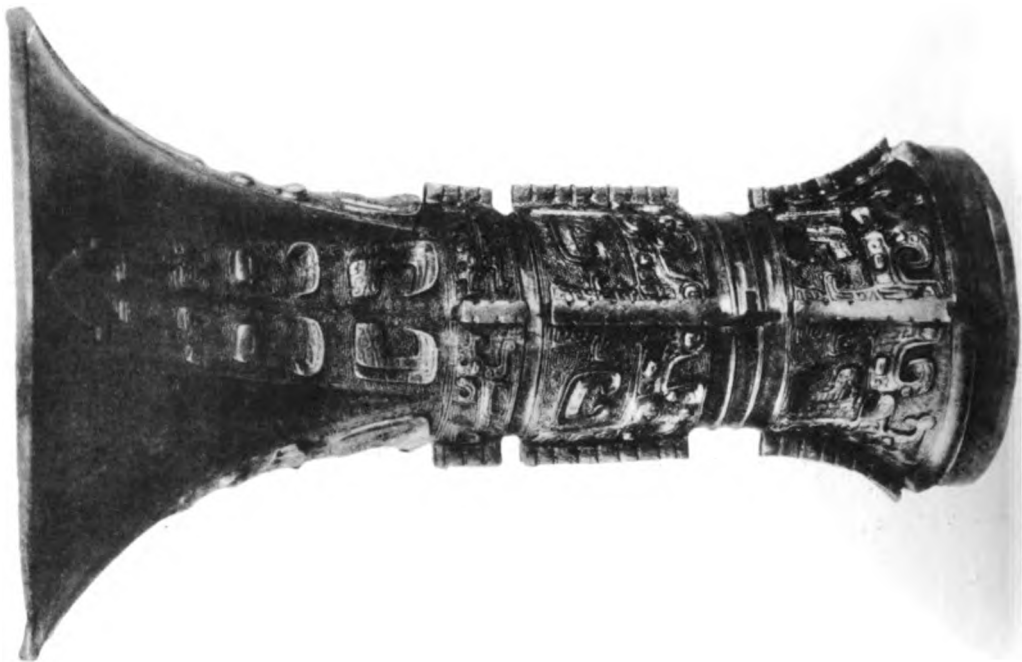




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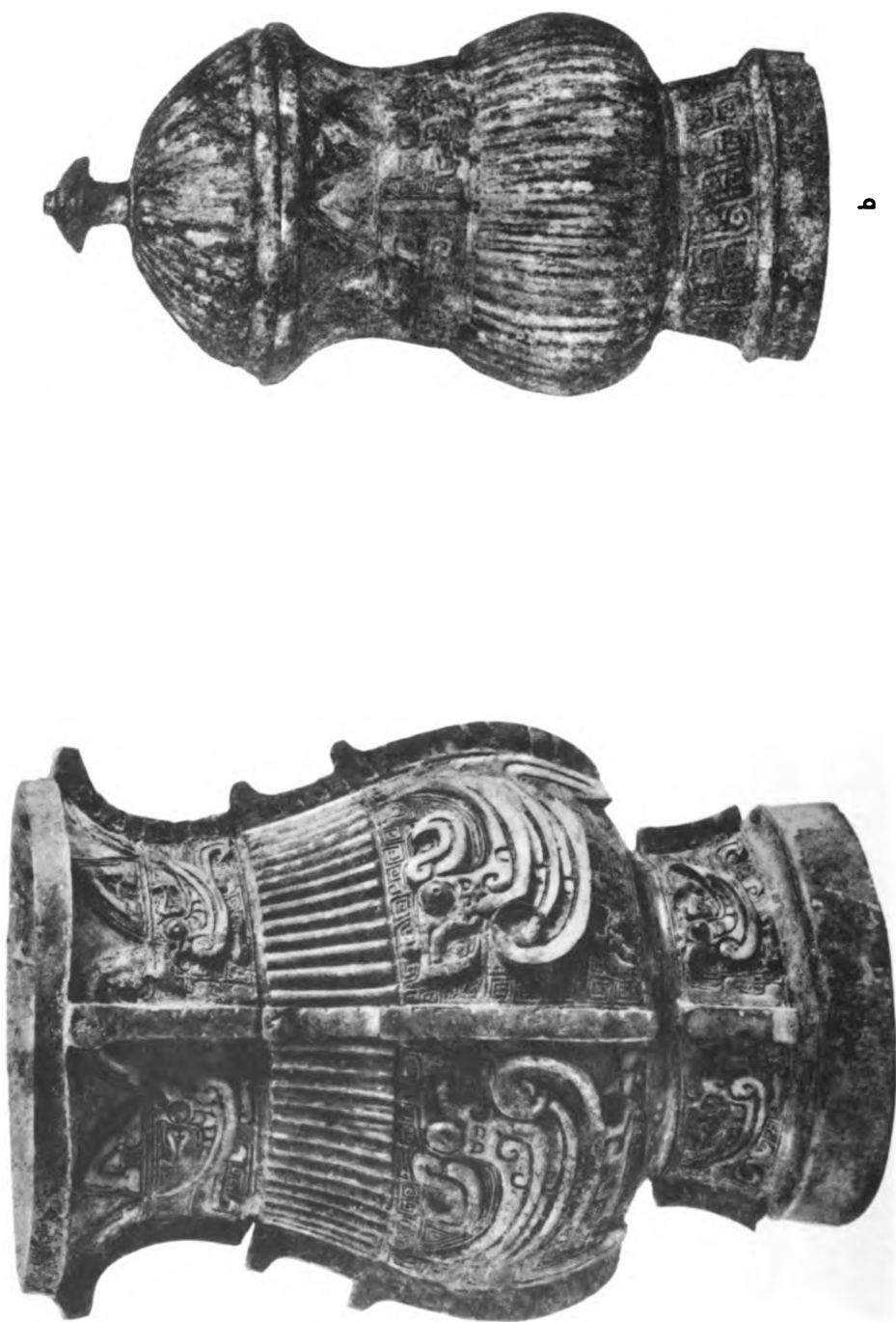




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b



Chian 21; Yen'ku shang 53; Jung. No. 565 (T'aot'ie in incised lines); vessel in Academia Sinica (Anyang) and in Hardt coll.

Yen'ku shang 51 has the same arrangement, but the forceful T'aot'ie on the bulb is bordered in by Circle bands — a mixing of A and B elements.

Type 17. Another category, likewise very limited, roughly corresponding to cat. 8. in Tsun above, has T'aot'ie on the bulb and figured foot, neck bare. Examples: Pl. 26 b (Royal Scottish Museum); further: White Pl. 77; Sirén, *Kinas Konst under tre årtusenden* p. 38; Chungsung shang 52; Yechung III shang 38, 41 (all with T'aot'ie on the foot, the last having Cicadas above this T'aot'ie); Li Chi, *The Beginnings of Chinese Civilization* Pl. 7 (deformed Dragons on the foot).

Ackerman Pl. 43 and a sister vessel in BMFEA 21 Pl. 13 have beautifully formed elephants on the foot and above them a Circle band — a mixing of styles.

Type 18. T'aot'ie on bulb and foot; on the neck Rising blades of the kind described under Tsun cat. 9. above;¹⁾ on the lower margin of the neck and on the upper margin of the foot narrow bands with a separate décor. This category corresponds roughly to cat. 9. in the Tsun class above (though the latter has not the décor band on the upper margin of the foot, as here):

a. Flanges on the bulb and mostly on the foot, but not on the neck. This is an exceedingly rich category represented by scores of specimens in various collections. Examples:

(Upper band Snakes — lower band Trunked dragons:) Pl. 27 a (Yechung II shang 22); 27 b (rubbing in Lochow 17); Pl. 28 a (Seikwa 52); further: BMFEA 9 Pl. 22; *ibid.* 20 Pl. 14; *ibid.* 30 Pl. 7; Pillsbury Pl. 37; Visser Pls. 4, 5; Voretzsch Pl. 32; Sirén *A History* I Pl. 44; Kidder Pl. 2; Waterbury Pl. 28; Fitzgerald *China* Pl. 3; *Ostas. Zeitschr.* 1929 Pl. 13; *Ill. London News* No. 5009; Lochow II: 12; Seikwa 53; Kobijutsu 18; Chungsung shang 50, 53, 56; Paoyün 101; Shierkia V: 30; Shuangkien kikin 46; Tsun 2: 45; Yen'ku shang 52; two vessels in Academia Sinica (inadequate plate in K'ao ku hüe pao 7); vessels in colls. Doris Duke, Kleykamp, Vannotti, Honolulu Ac. of Art etc.

(Upper band Snakes — lower band Cicadas:) Pl. 28 b (Nelson Gallery of Art); further: Cull Pl. 8; Chicago Pl. 12; Tsun 2: 41; Yechung I shang 23; Shuangkien k'iwu shang 34; vessels in colls. N. Malcolm, Brundage (2 items), Sparks, C. T. Loo, Yamanaka, Burnet.

(Cicadas in both bands:) vessel in John Heron Art Institute.

(Cicadas — Birds:) vessel in Kleykamp coll.

(Cicadas — Beaked dragons:) Sungchai sü 63; vessel in Denver Art Institute; two vessels in Academia Sinica (inadequate photos in K'ao ku hüe pao 7).

(Various other combinations in bands:) BMFEA 27 Pl. 1, Eumorfopoulos I Pl. 32, *Asiatische Kunst* Zürich 1941 p. 86 and Shant'u 146 (Snake — Snake); Senoku 90 (Bird — Snake); Heusden Pl. 14, Shūkan 25 and Yen'ku shang 49 (Snake —

¹⁾ Here again there are a great many variants, from elaborate confronted Dragons, heads downwards and sometimes forming a T'aot'ie figure, to a few summary lines only, see in detail BMFEA 23, p. 29.

Beaked dragon); Shant'u 145 (Snake — Winged dragon); Palmgren Pl. 3 (Snake — Turning dragon); Senoku 92 (Birds — Birds); BMFEA 20 Pl. 14, British Museum Quarterly 9 Pl. 38 and Tsun 2: 42 (Beaked dragon — Trunked dragon); Trautmann Pl. 12 (Trunked dragon — Beaked dragon); Mengwei sü 27 (Winged dragon — Trunked dragon, thread relief); Wuying 135 and Yechung III shang 39 (Spiral — Spiral).

b. Flanges on bulb, foot and neck. This is quite a small group (in contrast to the corresponding cat. 9 γ in Tsun above). Examples: Pl. 29 a' (Oeder coll., in bands Snakes — Trunked dragons); Yechung I shang 24 (bands not clearly visible); vessel in Doris Duke coll. (Snakes — Trunked dragons).

Shant'u 144 has, exceptionally, Head-turning Dragons on the foot instead of T'aot'ie. Pl. 50 b (Shierkia VIII: 5) has Flanges only on the bottom band of the neck and lacks the top band on the foot.

Type 19. Décor on bulb and foot and Rising blades on neck, just like cat. 18 above, but the patterns formed quite differently:

a. On the bulb confronted Vertical Dragons forming a special kind of T'aot'ie mask; on the foot two confronted Head-turning Dragons, likewise forming a T'aot'ie figure; in the bands Spirals. Example: Pl. 29 b: further; BMFEA 6 Pl. 9 (also Leth Pl. 8); *ibid.* 27 Pl. 2; Seikwa 54; vessel in Spencer Churchill collection. The same with the foot pattern in open-work: Pl. 30 a (Ackerman Pl. 42, also White Pl. 4); further: Loo 1940 Pl. 6; Yechung III shang 40; vessel in Academia Sinica (inadequate photo in K'ao ku hüe pao 7 Pl. 29); vessels in several private collections.

b. Similar to the preceding, but the Dragons on the foot turned in the same direction, not confronted and thus not forming any T'aot'ie face: Pl. 30 b (Ackerman Pl. 41); further: Sungchai sü 64; vessels in colls. von Rosen and Bluett.

c. Pl. 31 a (Yenk'u shang 50). Here the Turning Dragon on the foot is less strongly stylized than in the two preceding groups. Further: Wuying 135, 137, 138; vessels in colls. Ernest Erickson, v. d. Heydt, Kleykamp; Röhsska Museet, Årstryck 1949 p. 8 (here Snake and Cicada in bands).

Pl. 51 a (C. T. Loo) shows a real T'aot'ie in open-work on the foot, very rare; Sungchai sü 62 has the Head-turning Dragon on the bulb as well, and Sungchai sü 64, on a vessel of the *a*-type, Squares with crescents in the narrow bands — a *B*-style feature irregularly introduced here.

Background of the T'aot'ie.

We have seen earlier (Marginalia I p. 325) that the bare background is particularly common in the class Eared Kuei and occurs fairly frequently in the class Yu, but is practically absent in Round Ting, Li-ting and Earless Kuei. Again, we have found that it does not, as a rule, occur in Square Ting and Shouldered Tsun, whereas it is fairly common in Tsun. Here, in the Ku class, it appears again with a considerable frequency. Examples: our Pls. 26 b, 28 a; BMFEA 20 Pl. 14; Sirén A History I Pl. 44; Sirén Kinas Konst under tre årtusenden p. 38; Kobjutsu Pl. 18; Chengsung shang 52; Mengwei sü 27; Yechung III shang 41; Ch'ian 21; Shuangkien kikin 46; Shant'u 145, 146; Yenku shang 52.

Remarks.

The class Ku A offers several interesting features. In a general way there appears to be a great affinity between the Tsun and the Ku class: both have the tripartite arrangement with a widening foot, a central bulb and a tall neck with a flaring mouth. We have also witnessed several strong parallels between Ku A and Tsun A in regard to the décor. But there are some surprising contrasts. On the one hand, in the Tsun A class we find a large category with T'aot'ie on the bulb but neck and foot bare; the Ku A class has only a very small group of this type. On the other hand, the Tsun have nothing corresponding to the separate narrow décor band on the upper margin of the foot which is the rule in the largest Ku categories.

Further, and above all, there are some striking contrasts in regard to the décor motifs:

The important A-style motif Cicada, so common in the classes Round Ting and Li-ting but unknown in the classes Eared and Earless Kuei, Yu and Square Ting, is entirely absent in the class Tsun A (and Shouldered Tsun A) but plays an important rôle in our class Ku A, type 18.

The motif Snake, in the formulation it has been given in our Ku A type 18., for instance in Pl. 28 b¹) is exceedingly rare in the classes Round Ting, Li-ting, Earless Kuei, Yu and Square Ting (an isolated exception: Square Ting in Chengsung shang 14), whereas it occurs frequently in the class Eared Kuei, there mostly in the foot belt, sometimes in the neck belt. In the classes Tsun A and Shouldered Tsun A it is likewise absent (an exceptional instance in Shūkan Pl. 19). Here, in the Ku class, it is a highly important motif, occurring mostly in the narrow bottom band of the neck, sometimes in the top band of the foot. Here Tsun and Ku diverge strongly.

The Trunked Dragon is a variant of the Dragon motif that appears in a fair number of instances in most of the classes studied previously; it is particularly frequent in the Kuei class. But the Tsun and Shouldered Tsun form an exception: in these classes it is practically non-existent. The Ku, on the contrary, have the Trunked dragon to a very large extent (far more frequently, in fact, than any other class), particularly in the top band of the foot. Here Tsun and Ku are in strong contrast.

II KU B

In the Tsun class we found that the B-style vessels were not very numerous, the A-style ones being strongly preponderant. In our class Ku the B style is far more richly represented, though it does not reach such figures as the A style.

The shape of the B vessels is mostly quite the same as that of the A-style ones, though comparatively broad and stout Ku are more common in the B style than in the A style.

¹) Another kind of Snake with a central head and two bodies extending right and left is common in the class Square Ting, see for instance Pl. 7 b.

Arrangement of the décor.

There are three principal groups:

Type 20. Décor on the bulb only, mostly with tiny Flanges, foot and neck bare. The décor as a rule is Dissolved T'aot'ie (sometimes in the shape of "Animal triple band"). Examples: Pl. 31 b (MFEA); 32 a (Yamanaka); further: White Pl. 67; Tsun 2: 40; Sungchai sü 67; vessel in Doris Duke coll.; Pl. 32 b (Tsun 2: 44) with the figure bordered in by Circle bands; likewise in Zenoku zoku 178; Shierkia V: 29.

Type 21. Décor on bulb and foot, neck bare, tiny Flanges on the bulb (rarely on the foot). The décor consists in most cases of Dissolved T'aot'ie, on the foot often surmounted by a narrow band with Spirals. Examples: Pl. 33 a; 33 b (Gump coll.); further: BMFEA 9 Pl. 50; Eumorfopoulos I Pl. 33; Exhibition Pl. 6; Visser Pl. 6; Li Chi, Beginnings Pls. 7 and 31; Seikwa 55; Paoyün 110—112; Chengsung shang 49; Yechung II shang 23; Shant'u 148; Sungchai sü 66; vessels in the Malmö Museum, British Museum, Museum f. Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg, Freer Gallery of Art; colls. Kleykamp, Umehara, Chang Nai-chi, Academia Sinica. Pl. 34 a (MFEA) the same except that the figures are bordered by Circle bands; similarly Yenku shang 54; Kidder Pl. 1 has Circle bands on the bulb only.

A vessel in the Gump collection has on the foot instead of Dissolved T'aot'ie the same kind of Dragon as in Pl. 35 a in the next group. Pl. 51 b (Yenku shang 55) has the foot décor reduced to the top band of Spirals, very unusual; Pl. 52 a (Yechung III shang 42) with Vertical ribs on the bulb and incised T'aot'ie on the foot is quite unique.

Type 22. This category agrees closely with the preceding, but has Rising blades on the neck and often Flanges on both foot and bulb. Examples:

(Foot without Flanges:) Pl. 34 b (Seligman Pl. 5); further two vessels in C. T. Loo coll. Pl. 35 a (White Pl. 3; Dragons on the foot).

(Foot with Flanges:) Pl. 35 b (Yechung III shang 43); further: vessels in Honolulu Ac. of Art, Seattle Museum of Art, Gump collection.

Senoku 89 has Dissolved T'aot'ie on bulb and foot but Cicada below the Rising Blades on the neck (A and B features mixed).

Remarks.

The class Ku B stands in contrast to the Ku A not only in regard to the décor motifs (already studied in BMFEA 9) but also in the arrangement of the décor. In Ku A the great majority of specimens belong to types 18. and 19., i. e. they have Rising Blades on the neck, whereas categories 16. and 17. with bare neck are very small, almost exceptional. In Ku B, on the contrary, the types with bare neck, i. e. categories 20. and 21., are absolutely preponderant, and cat. 22., with Rising blades on the neck, is very limited. Furthermore, when Ku A in its largest

group has décor on the foot, there is, as a rule, a narrow band on the upper margin of the foot containing animal figures: Snakes, Trunked dragons, Cicadas etc. In Ku B there is, correspondingly, a narrow band merely showing a plain Spiral band (which latter in Ku A is so rare as to be nearly exceptional).

We observed above that though Tsun A and Ku A have much in common, the Ku A being a sort of "slender" Tsun, there were nonetheless important divergences between them quite apart from the slenderness. Here, if we compare Tsun B and Ku B, we likewise find (besides important parallelisms, for instance the absence of Compound lozenges, Interlocked T's and Whorl circles) some curious contrasts. Thus Tsun B contains groups (types 10 a. and 12.) that have Squares with crescents as décor on the bulb; Ku B has nothing corresponding to this. Tsun B has a considerable group (type 10 b.) which has narrow décor bands on the upper and lower parts of the bulb (central zone bare), with De-tailed birds etc. Ku B has nothing corresponding thereto. Thus our class Ku B has a quite independent character of its own and is not merely a slender variant of Tsun B.

CHAPTER FIVE: CHĪ

The exact meaning of the word Chī, when occurring in the ancient texts, is difficult to determine. It has generally been translated 'goblet' or 'beaker' or 'drinking cup'. In the catalogues of early bronzes, vessels with the shape discussed in the present chapter have been called Tsun when they are large (20—25 cm. or thereabouts), Chī when they are lower. This is quite arbitrary, since many degrees of size occur in this class. We shall describe here, quite regardless of the variation in size, vessels that have a foot like a Tsun but a "bulb" that is not set off against the neck but merges into the latter, forming a smooth S profile.

On the other hand, some groups of vessels with the said characteristics are very narrow and tall, so that they approach the shape of a Ku, see for instance BMFEA 20 Pl. 14: 3, while others, though not quite so slender, e. g. Seikwa Pl. 4 b, are sufficiently narrow to give a "flask-like" impression, thus more conveniently treated together with the class Hu. The said two kinds of "Chī" will therefore be left out in the present chapter and the discussion will be confined to the broader and more squat Chī.

We saw above that in the Tsun class the A-style vessels by far outnumbered those in B style. Here, in the class Chī, we find both styles richly represented.

The shape of the Chī is fairly uniform; yet we can perceive that a variant with a strongly flaring mouth is common in the B style but very rare in the A style (see below).

Some of the specimens we possess have a dome-like lid preserved; the details of this part of the vessel will be left out in the following discussion; they will be studied in another connection.

CHĪ A.

Arrangement of the décor.

It is a curious phenomenon that the large category in the Tsun class (type 6.) which has T'aot'ie on the bulb as only décor (neck and foot being bare) has practically no counterpart in the Chī class.

A specimen such as Pl. 52 b (Seikwa Pl. 50) is in fact quite exceptional. Still more so is a vessel in Lochow II: 7 with the T'aot'ie fitted into a broad Rising blade.

There are four principal categories:

Type 23. T'aot'ie on the bulb; figured belts (mostly with Dragons) on the foot and above the T'aot'ie; Flanges in the belts only; background bare. Sometimes the specimens vary strongly in character apart from these characteristics. Examples:

Pl. 36 a (Cleveland Museum of Art); 36 b (C. T. Loo); 37 a (K. Foster, *Ancient Chinese Bronzes* Pl. 27); further: Seikwa Pl. 4; Exhibition Pl. 16; Ts'üan kuo - - ch'u t'u wen wu t'u lu 1959 Pl. 55; vessels in colls. Knapp and Burnet.

The vessel Pl. 53 a (Kidder Pl. 19) has the rare thread relief which we noted in Pl. 46 a and, moreover, Whorl circles in the neck belt — an exceptional feature in the Chī class.

Type 24. A fairly frequent type has two décor belts above the T'aot'ie of the bulb, the lower with Dragons, the upper with T'aot'ie; tiny Flanges in all sections; background bare. Example: Pl. 37 b (BMFEA 30: 11, Wessén coll.); further: BMFEA 9 Pl. 23; Freer Pl. 15; Metrop. Mus. Bull. 1950 p. 104; Hakkaku Pl. 19.

Type 25. T'aot'ie on the bulb; figured belts or simple Spiral bands on the foot and above the T'aot'ie; on top of this Rising blades; tiny Flanges in all sections.

Examples: Pl. 38 a (Pillsbury 45); 38 b (here Cicadas on the Blades); 39 a (Lundgren coll.); further: White Pl. 9; Dubosc No. 18 (Cicadas on Blades and Birds in upper belt); Yechung II shang 24 (= Trautmann 14); Jung No. 570; Senoku 93; Visser Pl. 12 (Birds on the bulb); vessels in colls. Kahn, Alsdorf, Brundage, Gump.

Type 26. An interesting group with an Owl as Uni-décor, flanked by Vertical dragons, the owl's feet reaching down into the foot belt; Flanges in all sections. Examples: Pl. 39 b; further: G. Salles, *Bronzes Chinois* 1934 fig. 29; Kin kuei lun ku ch'u tsi p. 159; Tsun 2: 46 (= Trautmann 13); vessels in colls. Burchard and Brundage.

Remarks.

In general appearance — shape and distribution of the décor — the Chī has a close affinity with the Tsun class, and the bare background that is characteristic of Eared Kuei A, Yu A and Tsun A recurs here quite frequently. But the above analysis also reveals strong contrasts between Tsun A and Chī A:

One important contrast concerns the figured belts on the neck. In our cat. 24. there are two such belts, one immediately above the other, an arrangement entirely unknown in Tsun (and Ku).

Cat. 26., which has a forceful though strongly stylized Owl for décor, is highly remarkable. This décor is exceedingly rare in other classes; as an isolated case may be mentioned the Square Yi in Seikwa 42. Here, in Chī, it is prevalent in an important group.

CHI B.

Arrangement of the décor.

Type 27. A considerable group shows the characteristics of the B style which we have observed in the classes studied earlier (Round Ting, Kuei, Yu): a bare "belly", here "bulb", the décor limited to a narrow belt on the base of the neck, the foot either being non-figured or having a similar narrow figured belt; no Flanges. Examples:

Non-figured foot: (neck Spiral band:) Pl. 40 a; further: BMFEA 20 Pl. 12; vessel in coll. Knapp; (Neck Animal triple band:) Pl. 40 b (Chengsung chung 1); (neck Compound lozenges:) Yenku' shang 61.

Figured foot: (neck Spiral band bordered by Circle bands, foot Eyed band with diagonals:) Pl. 41 a (Wuying 139); Chengsung chung 3; (neck Spiral band, foot Eyed band with diagonals:) Chengsung chung 9; Mengwei shang 39; (neck and foot Spiral band:) Shierkia IV: 16; Kidder Pl. 2 (the latter with a curious postament); (neck and foot Dragons:) Yenku' shang 59; (neck and foot Compound lozenges bordered by Circle bands:) our Pl. 41 b (Doris Duke coll.); (neck and foot Animal triple band:) vessel in Kleykamp collection.

Type 28. This category like the preceding has the décor limited to a narrow belt above the bare "bulb" and has not even the foot figured. It has a much more strongly flaring mouth than either Chī A or the preceding B category, indeed the same strongly outcurving profile as the majority of the Tsun class. Finally it regularly has Free animal's heads in the neck belt (no Flanges). Examples:

(Neck De-tailed or not de-tailed birds:) Pl. 42 a (Higginson coll.); 42 b (Lundgren coll.); further: Seligman Pl. 6; Loo 1940 Pl. 11; Antiques Pl. 10; Kwankarō A 33; Kobijutsu 16, 17; Senoku zoku 175; Seikwa 29; Sungchai 14; Shant'u 124, 126; Sungchai sü 57;

(Neck Animal triple band or Dragons:) Pl. 43 a; further: Seikwa 28; Sungchai sü 58; Shant'u 125, 127.

Type 29. This group, in contrast to the preceding two, has a décor extending over the entire vessel: on the bulb large Birds with raised tails, quite similar to those we found in the class Eared Kuei B (type n.), Marginalia I Pl. 29 a; above these, on the base of the neck, a figured belt (mostly with Dragons); above this, up to the rim, Rising blades of a very broad and stylized type, foot belt bare or figured (Dragons); in the neck belt the same Free animal's heads as in cat. 28.

Examples:

(Figured foot belt:) Pl. 43 b (Pillsbury Pl. 43); further: Hakkaku Pl. 9 (= BMFEA 8 Pl. 21);

(Non-figured foot belt:) Eumorfopoulos I Pl. 5; Ill. Cat. fig. 76; Seikwa 27; Senoku 32; Seikwa 51 (this last without the strongly flaring mouth and with thin Flanges in the neck belt).

Pl. 53 b (Brundage coll.) shows the same Birds but in a very exceptional arrangement with a kind of "Uni-décor". Mizuno p. 99 has a specimen lacking the neck belt, and Kin kwei lun ku ch'u tsi p. 166 has a curious vessel with the shape, belts and Rising blades of our category here but the Birds replaced by a strongly stylized T'aot'ie.

Some other types with typical B-style features are so rare that they must be considered exceptional: Pl. 54 a (Lundgren coll.) belongs together with the numerous Yu B studied in Marginalia I, cat. u. and Pl. 34 b there; a similar Chi in Lochow II: 6; Pl. 54 b (Ch'ian 29) has the bulb covered with Vertical ribs, which is quite rare. In Li Chi, Beginnings Pl. 8 there is a Chi with bulb, foot and neck entirely covered with spirals in very low relief — a unique case.

Remarks.

If we compare Chi B with Chi A, we find — besides the B-style criteria established in earlier works — two important contrasts. In the largest Chi B categories (28. and 29.) there are Free animal's heads in the neck belts, which do not occur in Chi A; and they have the widely flaring mouth which Chi A have not.

Again, if we compare our Chi B with the class Tsun B, with which they have so much in common in general appearance (particularly the flaring mouth just mentioned in cats. 28. and 29.) that the largest specimens have often been labelled "Tsun", we find two important discrepancies:

On the one hand, the Free animal's heads adduced above, which almost invariably adorn cats. 28. and 29., have no counterpart in the Tsun B class (there such heads are very rare indeed). On the other hand, the cat. 29. has the large Birds with raised tails which are entirely missing in the Tsun B class, though there is available space on the bulb there just as well as in our Chi class.

On both these important points there is a strong affinity between Chi B and Eared Kwei B, as contrasted with Tsun B.

* * *

The preceding analysis of the leading types and categories of Square Ting, Tsun, Shouldered Tsun, Ku and Chi has corroborated and strongly emphasized the phenomena revealed in our Marginalia I and studied there in the classes Round Ting, Li-ting, Kwei and Yu. The creators of the great bronze art of late Yin and Early Chou were very far from being free in the choice of their shapes, décor arrangements and décor elements. They had to obey highly conventionalized rules. Here again we have found such restrictive laws and distinctive principles at every step — we need only refer here to the summing-up at the end of each paragraph above. In an article Marginalia III to be published soon it will be shown that the same phenomenon obtains in a series of other classes of ritual bronzes from the archaic period.

SOME NOTES ON LIAO CERAMICS

BY

JAN WIRGIN

The scientific study of the ceramic art of the Liao dynasty is not very old. It was not until the 1930s that the first investigations in this field were published. Hitherto the ceramic wares from Liao had mostly been classified as T'ang or Ming and even as mere falsifications. The discoveries now made were mainly the achievement of Japanese archaeologists who were working at the time in the old Liao domain in northern China, especially Jehol and Manchuria.

In 1936 Ryuzo Torii published the work "Illustrations of Archaeology", a scientific account of the Japanese excavations of several Liao cities, in which he reproduced some specimens of Liao ceramics. In the following year two articles on Liao ceramics were published, one in "Monumenta Serica"¹⁾ and one in "Kōkogaku Zasshi"²⁾, both of which mainly deal with the typical Liao wine-bottles known as *Chi kuan hu* (the term *Chi t'eng hu* is also used). A summing-up of those articles and a very interesting study of some other types of Liao wares was published by Reidemeister in "Ostasiatische Zeitschrift"³⁾ in the same year (1937). In 1948 appeared an article in "Oriental Art" on the Liao wine-bottles which gives a detailed historical account of the use of leather wine-bottles and their ceramic representations.⁴⁾ In volume 10 of the comprehensive Japanese work *Sekai Toji Zenshu* considerable space has been devoted to Liao ceramics.⁵⁾

In spite of the information found in the publications mentioned our knowledge of Liao ceramics is still very limited. There are many unsolved problems concerning its places of manufacture, its development and also its dependence upon and influence on Sung ceramics. From the Liao tombs already excavated we have gained a fairly clear picture of what different kinds of ceramics were predominant during Liao.⁶⁾ But we do not know for certain how much of the ceramics found in

¹⁾ Taizo Yamashita: A Kitan Variety of Sung Pottery Discovered in Jehol. *Monumenta Serica*. Vol. II, 1936—37, p. 421.

²⁾ Osamu Mori: Ceramics from Jehol und Chinchou Sheng, Manchoukuo. *Kōkogaku Zasshi*. Vol. XXVII, March 1937, no. 3.

³⁾ Keramische Funde aus Jehol and die Lohan von I-chou. *O. Z.* 1937, no. 23.

⁴⁾ Kojiro Tomita and K'ai-ming Ch'iu: Chinese leather wine-bottles and their ceramic imitations. *O. A.* vol. I, no. 3. 1948.

⁵⁾ *Sekai Toji Zenshu*. Vol. 10, Sung and Liao Dynasties. Tokyo 1955 (Sekai 10).

⁶⁾ Two very important excavations of Liao tombs have recently been published in K. K. H. P. "*I hsien Ching Ho Men Liao mu fa chüeh pao kao*", by Li Wen Hsin (K. K. H. P. no. 8, 1954, p. 163), and "*Ch'ih Feng Hsien Ta Yin Tzu Liao mu fa chüeh pao kao*". (K. K. H. P. no. 13. 1956, 3 p. 1.)

Liao tombs was really made within the Liao state. Without any doubt there has been a considerable export from the Sung empire to Liao, and many of the best ceramic specimens found in Liao tombs must be classified as imported wares of this kind. Clearly defined, however, is a group of ceramics the shape and decoration of which differ considerably from the Sung ideals, and which accordingly must be regarded as a typical exponent of the taste and artistic creation of the Liao people.

SHAPES.

1. Wine-bottles.

Most striking in shape among the Liao ceramic wares are no doubt the characteristic small wine-bottles which represent leather wine-bottles; hence these bottles were the first Liao wares that attracted the attention of the scholars. The leather wine-bottles were common among the nomadic people in northern China during the beginning of the Sung period and even earlier. They were usually called *p'ien ti*^{II}. Their ceramic representations are usually called by the modern term *chi kuan hu*^I (jap. *keikan ko*) or "cockscorn jug" owing to the shape of the handle of some of them. Sometimes the term *ma t'eng hu*^{III} is met with, referring to the shape of those bottles resembling that of a Chinese stirrup. These ceramic bottles might have been mortuary objects, made in much smaller dimensions than the actual leather bottles placed in the tombs.¹⁾

There are three main types of bottles, according to their execution; those with lead glaze, those of a *Ting ya o*-like type, and those with *Ting ya o*-like glaze with applied lead glaze decoration.

The two predominant lead glaze colours used by the Liao potters are green yellow. The yellow is mostly of a dark or ochrous yellow tone. The green ranges from a dark or olive green to a most delicate pale green shade.

A common type within the lead glazed group is the kind of bottle seen in fig. 1 a and pl. 11.²⁾ It is in the shape of a flat leather bottle, has horizontal mouth with cover, and on the top are often two holes for suspension. The colour of the glaze is mostly dark green or olive green. These bottles are often adorned with a carved decoration of scrolls and wine-grapes; sometimes they have small figures sitting astride the top (fig. 1 a).³⁾ Another common type is represented by fig. 1 d; it is rather tall and of a nearly oval shape, and is provided with a very characteristic ring handle with fingermarks on it. A coarser and more clumsy type with the handle imitating a twisted rope is seen in fig. 1 e, f; this type is very frequent.⁴⁾ A smaller and more bulging but elegant type is seen in fig. 1 h. The plainest and most elegant shape, however, is the one with the typical chicken-crest-like handle, which has given its name, *chi kuan hu*, to the entire group (fig. 1 g).⁵⁾

¹⁾ This opinion is expressed by Tomita, op. cit.

²⁾ Cf. Hobson, R. L.: *The Catalogue of the George Eumorfopoulos collection*. Vol. I. London 1925; no. 154, pl. 64. — Yamashita op. cit. pl. XIII left. Sekai 10; figs. 147, 148.

³⁾ C. B. Hoyt Collection, Memorial Exhibition. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 1952; no. 169.

⁴⁾ Cf. Torii op. cit. pl. 302.

⁵⁾ Yamashita op. cit. pl. XII right. Sekai 10; pl. 128.

The combination of a white or cream-coloured glaze of T'ing-type with an applied lead glaze is used only on a special group of wine-bottles. These bottles have bands in relief, probably meant to represent leather straps (fig. 1 c). These straps are often glazed green, the rest of the bottle having a pure white glaze.¹⁾

The finest of all ceramic wine-bottles are those made of white porcelain of T'ing type. A large number of specimens of this kind were found in the recently excavated Liao tombs in Ching Ho Men (Manchuria) and Ta Yin Tzu (Jehol). In tomb no. 1 in Ching Ho Men were found a pair of white porcelain bottles of identical shape (fig. 1 b). At the base of the spout of the bottle is a small ring-shaped ridge; starting from this ring are three ridges which encircle the body to reach the base of the handle.²⁾ A similar piece was excavated from tomb no. 3 in Ta Yin Tzu; it has a yellowish-white glaze minutely crazed, while the spout and handle are of a more greenish-white colour.³⁾ Another piece of this type, said to be of Lin-tung yao, is in the Tokyo NM⁴⁾. Among the objects excavated from tomb no. 4 in Ching Ho Men was a pair of bottles of the common "chicken-crested hu" type⁵⁾, but the most beautiful specimens of this kind are those found in a tomb in Ta Yin Tzu. This tomb is datable by aid of the tombstone, being the tomb of a Liao prince who died in the 9th year of the reign of king Mu Tsung^{IV} of Liao (A. D. 959). The bottles found in this tomb are of two types: the first is flat-bottomed⁶⁾, the second has a ringfoot⁷⁾; they are both made of white porcelain with crazed glaze. Both bottles are of extremely high quality. Chen Wan-li suggests that such "mat'eng hu" were used by the aristocrats of the time and are therefore quite different from the others.⁸⁾

2. Vases.

Among the different types of vases used by the Liao potters the phoenix-headed vase (feng shou p'ing^V) is one of the most characteristic. Like so many of the Liao shapes it is strongly connected with the T'ang style and is a mere development of the well-known T'ang phoenix vases. The Liao phoenix vases are mostly of a slender, elegant shape, with long ribbed neck ending in a phoenix head. The mouth is often cup-shaped with foliate lip (fig. 2 a, b; fig. 3 a, c). They are usually glazed in green, yellow or white. Sometimes they are decorated with a horizontal band of peonies round the shoulder (fig. 3 a). Very closely related to the phoenix head vases is another type, which is of the same shape with long ribbed neck and wide mouth, but without a phoenix head. They are often made of white porcelain and decorated with an incised design of peonies round the shoulder

¹⁾ Sekai 10; pl. 126. Yamashita op. cit. pl. XI.

²⁾ K. K. H. P. no. 8 1954, pl. 5: 2.

³⁾ K. K. H. P. no. 13, 1956: 3, pl. 7: 5.

⁴⁾ Sekai 10; pl. 129.

⁵⁾ K. K. H. P. no. 8, 1954, fig. 22: 2, pl. 18: 1.

⁶⁾ K. K. H. P. no. 13, 1956: 3, pl. 6: 1.

⁷⁾ K. K. H. P. no. 13, 1956: 3, pl. 6: 2.

⁸⁾ W. W. T. K. T. L. no. 11, 1956, p. 15. Chen's opinion differs from that of Tomita (op. cit.) who suggests that the bottles were only used for mortuary purposes.

(fig. 2 c).¹⁾ The most beautiful of all Liao vases are those with ovoid body, long neck and wide saucer-shaped mouth (fig. 2 e).²⁾ These vases are mostly undecorated and made of very fine white porcelain.

A characteristic Liao vase shape is the one seen in fig. 2 g—i. This type with the contracted neck and flaring mouth is one of the most common among Liao ceramics. Such vases were found in War Manha³⁾ and also in numerous recently excavated Liao tombs. They are usually glazed in yellow or green, but specimens with a white glaze are not uncommon.

Another special Liao type is seen in fig. 4 a. It is a vase of a somewhat clumsy shape, with short neck and characteristic rolled mouthrim. Vases of this kind are mostly decorated with flower designs made in sgraffito technique (fig. 4 b).

Vases in the shape of spittoons (t' o h u^{VI}) are also found (fig. 2 j); they are often white-glazed. The spittoon shape occurs already during T'ang.⁴⁾

3. Dishes.

Liao dishes are often of a very distinct shape, easy to recognize. The oval four-cusped dish in fig. 5 c is a good example of an elegant Liao shape. Dishes of this shape are often decorated with two- or three-coloured glazes.⁵⁾ The prototype of this shape is found in T'ang silver; especially among the silver specimens said to originate from Pei Huang Shan and dated around 877 there are several dishes of related shapes.⁶⁾ Eight-lobed dishes (fig. 5 e) and round dishes⁷⁾ (pls. 12 and 13 a) are also found among the three-coloured wares. The square dish with everted sides is another characteristic Liao shape. Dishes of this form with three-colour glaze and moulded decoration are quite common (fig. 5 a and pl. 13 b). Two specimens of this type were published by Reidemeister in 1937;⁸⁾ there is one in the MFEA (pl. 13 b) and several others are known. In the CKc is a small dish of white porcelain of T'ing type of a very similar shape. It is adorned with a beautiful moulded design of a duck among peonies (fig. 5 b, pl. 1).⁹⁾ It has long been the author's opinion that this dish is of Liao origin. This suggestion was more or less proved by the above-mentioned excavations in Ching Ho Men. In tomb 2 in Ching Ho Men were found fragments of a similar dish with the same kind of design (fig. 8 n). This tomb has a tombstone with an inscription which states that the couple buried here died in the 3rd year of the reign of Ching Ning^{VII} (A. D. 1057). The fragments

¹⁾ Sekai 10: pl. 135; fig. 185: 2.

²⁾ Cf. K. K. H. P. no. 13, 1956: 3 pl. 6: 3 (These vases are decorated in gold and red).

³⁾ Torii op. cit. pl. 300.

⁴⁾ Gyllensvärd, Bo: T'ang Gold and Silver. BMFEA no. 29, Stockholm 1953; fig. 27 a, e.

⁵⁾ Sekai 10: figs. 193, 194. Reidemeister op. cit. Abb. 4.

⁶⁾ Gyllensvärd: pl. 22 a, fig. 44, c, d, g.

⁷⁾ Sekai 10; figs. 199—201.

⁸⁾ Op. cit. Abb. 5, 6.

⁹⁾ An identical dish is in the D. Barnham collection (T. O. C. S. 1949—50, pl. 24. No. 119, O. C. S. Sung Exhibition 1949), and another in the Buffalo Museum (Hochstadter, W.: Early Chinese Ceramics in the Buffalo Museum of Science. New York 1946; no. 92).

found are only from the bottom and one of the sides,¹⁾ but the characteristic shape is easy to reconstruct. The glaze is of the typical powdery white structure so significant for Liao porcelains, though of an unusually fine quality. With the guidance of this dish it might also be possible to attribute some other dishes, of similar type, to the Liao dynasty. A pair of white porcelain dishes in the collection of Mrs. R. Holmes are obviously from the same kiln as the dish in CKc (pl. 2). These dishes are decorated with moulded flower ornaments, and in the corners of the edges are butterflies like those on the CKc dish. A square dish in CKc with cusped everted sides and a moulded design of a stiff petal ornament in the centre is no doubt of Liao type (pl. 3), and another square dish in the same collection (pl. 4) with a conventionalized pomegranate design in the centre is also probably of Liao origin. Closely related to those dishes is an exquisite little triangular dish in CKc (pl. 5 a), which has a butterfly design. This dish has the three characteristic spur marks in the middle which are so significant of Liao wares. A square dish with the same kind of butterfly design is in the Museum of Eastern Art in Oxford (pl. 5 b).

4. Ewers.

Liao ewers are often, like so many other Liao wares, strongly related to T'ang ceramics, especially in their shape. Some pieces are more or less copies of T'ang prototypes²⁾, others have a more special Liao style, such as the ewers with contracted neck and everted mouth (fig. 6 a) and those with ribbed neck and cup-shaped mouth (fig. 6 b) reminiscent of the earlier mentioned long-necked vases. More in Sung taste is the small ewer with pear-shaped body in fig. 6 e (a Temmoku ewer in GVIAc is of identical shape³⁾). A very interesting specimen is a ewer in MFEA (fig. 6 d and pl. 15). It is of elegant shape, and has two small upstanding leaves one on each side of the shoulder. This ewer is glazed in green and black and is adorned with moulded flower ornaments. It is most probably of Liao origin. Applied ornaments on the shoulder, as the leaves on this ewer, are common at the end of T'ang and the beginning of Sung. There is a *y i n g c h ' i n g* ewer in Ckc with similar leaf ornaments and on a *Y ü e h y a o* vase in the Eli Lilly collection⁴⁾ are applied bird ornaments on the shoulder.

An elegant white porcelain ewer with globular body and short neck which formerly belonged to Messrs. Sparks (pl. 10) has an ornamentation round its neck that reveals its Liao origin. Of similar type but of a more clumsy shape is an ewer in MFEA (pl. 16) which is glazed in the typical amber and green Liao colours.

Gourd-shaped ewers with ring handle (fig. 6 c) are also found among Liao wares with coloured glazes.⁵⁾ Among the most elegant of Liao ceramics are small ewers

¹⁾ K. K. H. P. no. 8, 1954, fig. 19: 4, pl. 12: 5-7.

²⁾ Sekai 10; fig. 173.

³⁾ Palmgren, N.: *Selected Chinese Antiquities from the Collection of Gustaf Adolf Crown Prince of Sweden*. Stockholm 1948; pl. 87: 1.

⁴⁾ *Chinese Ceramics from the Prehistoric Period through Ch'ien Lung. A Loan Exhibition from Collections in America and Japan*. Los Angeles County Museum. Los Angeles 1952; no. 250.

⁵⁾ Sekai 10: pl. 133.

of the kind seen in pl. 7. The body is slightly lobed, the handle is in the form of three stems bound together and terminating in formal flower medallions. Ewers of this kind have formerly been referred to various dates and places. Rackham in his *Le Blond catalogue*¹⁾ called them ware of uncertain origin, Korean or Chinese; Honey²⁾ was of the opinion that they were of T'ang date; Gray³⁾ refers them to the 12th—13th century and calls them *Ting* ware. But both the general stylistic character and the technical execution justify a Liao dating for these ewers. Besides the ewer mentioned (pl. 7) there is one almost identical in the collection of Lt.-Colonel Ben Neave-Hill, London (pl. 8) and another of related type in CKc which also seems to be of Liao origin (pl. 9). It is pear-shaped with pyramidal top and the handle attached to it by an applied palmette. The general execution and the quality of the glaze and body are very similar to the previously mentioned ewer.

5. Jars and bowls.

Among the different varieties of jars only a few distinctive types will be mentioned. A common type is that represented by a jar in the former GEc (fig. 7 a);⁴⁾ it has an ovoid body, short straight neck and shallow base. The decoration consists of an incised peony design under a three-coloured glaze. More elegant in shape is a small jar, of depressed globular shape with everted mouth, found in Ta Yin Tzu (fig. 6 g). It is provided with a green "tea-dust" glaze with reddish spots. A jar of related, but more elongated, shape with ochrous yellow glaze is in a private collection (fig. 6 f). Exquisite small jars of white porcelain possibly of Liao origin were also found in the excavations in Ta Yin Tzu.⁵⁾ A very rare and interesting piece which also ought to be mentioned in this connection is the covered white porcelain jar found in tomb 4 at Ching Ho Men,⁶⁾ which is adorned with a beautiful peony design on the body (fig. 4 e).

Liao bowls are often of a conical shape with narrow, shallow base, but shallow bowls on a low foot rim and deep bowls with rounded sides are also found (fig. 6 i, j, k).

6. Boxes.

In none of the hitherto excavated Liao tombs have any lead glazed boxes been found, but on the basis of their general stylistic character and several details in the manner of execution, there are some specimens which we are inclined to refer to the Liao dynasty. A round three-coloured box in MFEA with a moulded design of four butterflies surrounding a conventionalized petal design (pl. 14 a), has

¹⁾ Rackham B.: *Catalogue of the Le Blond Collection of Korean Pottery*. London 1918. No. 130, pl. 41.

²⁾ Honey, W. B.: *The Ceramic Art of China and other Countries of the Far East*. London 1945; p. 57, pl. 29 B.

³⁾ Gray, Basil: *Early Chinese Pottery and Porcelain*. London 1953; pl. 46.

⁴⁾ Cf. Sekai 10: pl. 20.

⁵⁾ K. K. H. P. no. 13, 1956: 3, pl. 7: 1.

⁶⁾ K. K. H. P. no. 8, 1954, fig. 24: 2, pl. 19: 1.

all the characteristics of a Liao piece, e. g. the typical spur marks so often met with. We would also refer an ocarina in Berlin, published by Reidemeister,¹⁾ to the same group. A pair of boxes, of round shape with flat cover, one in MFEA and one in the author's collection, are also evidently of Liao origin (pl. 14 b). The glaze is green and ochrous yellow and the decoration on the cover, a whorl pattern of petals with a conventionalized lotus seed-pod in the centre, is typical of Liao.

At the excavation of the Liao kiln Lin Huang Fu in Lin Tung some white porcelain boxes were found.²⁾ They were low and round with flat cover with sloping sides. A box of similar type and decorated on the lid with four butterflies and a stiff flower in typical Liao style is in the RKM (pl. 6 b). There is also a small round box and cover in GVIAC³⁾ of greyish-white porcellanous stoneware with a transparent slightly greenish glaze. On the lid is a butterfly in low relief. This specimen is stylistically closely related to the other butterfly-decorated Liao pieces mentioned and it is most probably a Liao specimen (pl. 6 a).

DESIGN.

The decoration of the Liao ceramics is of various types often obviously differing from the contemporary Northern Sung ceramic. The three-coloured ware has the richest decoration, but the white wares are sometimes also richly adorned.

Among the decorative motifs found, flower ornaments are frequent. A characteristic of the Liao flower decoration is that it is rather stiff; this is particularly the case on specimens with moulded designs. The most common among the flowers used as decoration on Liao wares is no doubt the peony. It is not as a rule the usual tree-peony (*m u t a n*^{VIII}) so often met with in Chinese art, but the herbaceous peony (*paeonia albiflora*) which was common in the Liao domain. A three-coloured jar with an incised design of this kind of peony was in the GEC (fig. 7 a), another of similar type is in a Japanese collection (detail, fig. 7 b). The flower is of a rather simple type with four or five petals and in the centre a seed-vessel indicated by perpendicularly crossing lines. A very similar rendering of the flower motif is found on a crest-tile from the Liao city of Ching Chou^{IX} (fig. 7 c).

A characteristic Liao ornament frequently used consists of a peony flower with two leaves pointing outwards, one on each side (fig. 8 i, j). This design occurs on three-coloured wares (fig. 4 c, lower; pl. 12) as well as on sgraffito decorated (fig. 4 b) and white wares. Sometimes it is rather sketchy in outline (fig. 8 l), sometimes extremely fine, as on the square dish in CKc (pl. 1).⁴⁾ This composition has its parallels on Northern Sung *T z ' u c h o u y a o* (fig. 8 k). We would also refer another design, which occurs on the square three-coloured dishes with up-turned

¹⁾ Op. cit. Abb. 1.

²⁾ Palmgren op. cit. pl. 84: 2.

³⁾ Li Wen-hsin: *Lin Tung Liao Shang Ching Lin Huang Fu ku ch'eng nei tz'u yao chih*. K. K. H. P. 2: 1958. Fig. 5: 11.

⁴⁾ The small medallions on the ewers of the type seen in pls. 7 and 8 also come very close to this design.

edges (pl. 13 b), to the same group. It is made up of a conventionalized chrysanthemum flower with four stiff leaves pointing outwards crosswise (fig. 8 h).¹⁾ Related to this composition is that found on the pair of dishes in the R. Holmes collection (pl. 2). It is composed of four stiff leaves and in the centre a small althaea-like flower (fig. 8 m).

A quite naturalistic peony design, of a type more unusual for Liao ceramics, is found on a group of specimens, mostly jars and vases, decorated in sgraffito (fig. 4 a, b). This design differs from the usual Liao designs in the forceful movement found in the leaf-scroll. Something of the same style is found in the design on the lead-glazed ewer in the MFEA (pl. 15).

An extremely fine peony scroll which has its parallels among the contemporary Liao stone-engravings from Ch'ing Ling is found on a covered jar excavated from tomb 4 in Ching Ho Men²⁾ (fig. 4 e; cf. fig. 4 f). The floral decoration which adorns this jar is also closely related to that found on the square dish with the duck in CKc (fig. 4 d; pl. 1).

A special group in regard to decoration is formed by some small three-coloured specimens, often flat dishes, which have sketchy impressionistic designs of peony flowers, fruits and sometimes also animals (pl. 13 a and fig. 3 b).³⁾

The lotus flower is, in contrast to what is the case among Sung wares, not very common on Liao ceramics. It is never seen naturalistically depicted, but only as a very stiff composition in which the flower is viewed from above and has been conventionalized into a strictly symmetrical, starlike ornament (fig. 8 a). This type of lotus is already common during T'ang; it is frequently found on Liao ceramics and is also seen on some Liao stelae; moreover it continues in Sung, when it is found e. g. on Tz' u ch'ou yao (cf. fig. 8 a—e). A further conventionalization of the lotus motif is probably the rosette of oblique petals, so often found in the centre of Liao three-coloured bowls (fig. 4 c). A transitional form is found on the earlier mentioned pair of lead-glazed boxes; here the rosette on the cover still has the lotus seed-pod in the centre (fig. 8 g).

Different types of stiff petal ornaments are common, as the pointed four-petalled design on a white dish in CKc (fig. 8 e; pl. 3) and another of a related shape on a box in MFEA (pl. 14 a). An ornament which seems to be composed of four conventionalized pomegranates adorns the centre of a dish in CKc (pl. 4 and fig. 8 f).

Another characteristic Liao ornament is the cloud-scroll which is often found on the three-coloured ware. These cloud-scrolls sometimes assume an almost ju-i-like shape (fig. 4 c). They are also found on contemporary Liao stone engravings (fig. 4 h). The elegant border scrolls so often found on Liao stelae and other stone-engravings (fig. 4 g) are also adopted by the potters and used especially on the small three-coloured dishes of oval shape.⁴⁾

¹⁾ Compare this design with that found on several Tz' u ch'ou pieces e. g. a wine pot in the Harris collection (fig. 59 a).

²⁾ K. K. H. P. no. 8, 1954; pl. 19: 1, fig. 24: 2.

³⁾ Sekai 10; figs. 199—201.

⁴⁾ Sekai 10; pl. 140, figs. 193—94. Reidemeister op. cit. ABB. 4.

Animal decoration is not very often found on Liao ceramics, but there are a few exceptions. Butterflies and small insects of various kinds are popular motifs, seen e. g. on the dish in V&A (pl. 12) on the triangular dish in CKc (pl. 5 a), on the three-coloured box in MFEA (pl. 14 a), on the boxes (pl. 6) and in the corners of the square dishes pls. 1 and 2. The former dish (pl. 1) and other similar ones has also, in the centre, a fine design of a duck with a peony flower in its beak. This motif is only found on this particular ware and not on any other Liao wares.

We have already stated that our knowledge of Liao ceramics is still very limited. It is sometimes hard to decide whether a certain specimen is of Liao manufacture or not. This is especially the case with the white wares; the three-coloured ware is generally much easier to determine. Our main criteria when examining Liao pieces are shape and design, but there are also other criteria which we might call "technical criteria", such as the quality of the glaze, the ware, the potting and so on, which can often assist us in our investigations.

Most of the three-coloured wares are, as shown above, of very characteristic shapes. The designs are also restricted to a comparatively small group of motifs. The glaze is mostly green (ranging from dark green and leaf-green to a delicate pale green), yellow (ochrous or straw-coloured to amber) and white or neutral. A very characteristic feature of the Liao wares is that the glaze is applied on a white slip. The ware is buff to reddish brown, sometimes rather coarse. The potting can also be somewhat crude. Another characteristic of the Liao wares is the spur marks which are to be found on most Liao pieces; they are usually three in number and are placed very distinctly e. g. on the inside of a dish, not in the bottom. At the excavation in Lin Huang Fu many different kiln instruments were unearthed. These finds show that the Liao potters often burnt several vessels at the same time and that the vessels were separated in the seggar by round clay supports. These supports were often three-legged which explains the occurrence of the three typical spur-marks found on so many Liao wares.¹⁾

¹⁾ Three different kilns have been discovered in the vicinity of Liao Shang Ching in Lin Tung, Lin Huang Fu, Pai Yin Ko Lo and Nan Shan. The most important of the three was Lin Huang Fu. But even this kiln seems to have been quite small and its time of production is estimated to have lasted only about two years. A coin with the date 1078 found during the excavation made it possible to date the kiln in all probability to sometime around 1100. Among the sherds found in Lin Huang Fu were white porcelain and black and green glazed stoneware as well as some blackglazed roof-tiles. The white ware was inferior to Ting yao, but better in quality than the Chü-lu hsien yao. The decorated fragments were very few and only white wares with designs were found. Most of them were only decorated with incised lines or grooves in relief, but some sherds with incised designs of dragons and ornaments resembling dragon scales were also found. Besides this a great deal of kiln instruments were discovered e. g. seggars, burning-upports, moulds for making of vessels and for details as spouts, handles etc. The supports were mostly round or triangular with three feet.

At the kiln site in Pai Yin Ko Lo sherds and fragments of blackglazed and tea-dust green wares were excavated.

At Nan Shan fragments of three-coloured wares (mostly dishes and saucers) were found, but also white pottery with green dots. Three-footed clay supports were found among the kiln instruments at this kiln site as well.

The characteristics of the white Liao wares are more difficult to indicate. The shapes and the decorative motifs of the designs are for the most part strongly related to that of the coloured ware, but the technical criteria are more difficult to determine. Some of the white wares have, like the lead-glazed wares, the three typical spur marks (pl. IV). As a general characteristic of the white ware we might state that the glaze has a powdery appearance, due to a white slip under the glaze (but sometimes the slip is missing); this is very easy to observe, especially on specimens with moulded designs. The colour of the glaze is often bluish or greenish white and does not have the creamy tint of the T i n g y a o.

The Liao potters adopted from T'ang many details regarding shape, design and technique. Many Liao shapes are, as shown above, mere developments of T'ang types, for instance the long-necked vases, the phoenix vases, the oblong dishes (which are also found in T'ang silver), the spittoon-shaped vases, certain shapes of ewers and jars, and so on. But we also have what seem to be shapes of specially Liao invention, such as the square dishes with up-turned edges, the triangular dishes, the wine bottles, the vases with everted mouth and contracted neck etc. All those shapes are Liao innovations.

The technical execution of the Liao wares is very close to that of T'ang. This is especially the case with the lead-glazed pottery, which is a mere copy of the T'ang three-coloured ware. The white wares, however, seem to be more strongly influenced by Sung ceramics. The use of a moulded design on white porcelain is new to Liao, and this technique was most certainly a loan from Sung T i n g y a o.

What is specific for the Liao designs is the comparatively small variety of decorative motifs. It is only a very limited number of motifs that are used, most of them of a very distinct character. One of these motifs is the special kind of herbaceous peony, which does not occur on specimens other than those of Liao origin. Most popular among Liao floral motifs is the typical stiff arrangement with a flower surrounded by two (-o-) or four symmetrically arranged leaves (- ϕ -). This kind of motif in a somewhat modified form is also found on a group of early T z ' u c h o u y a o (as shown above), and a similar motif also occurs on a group of pillows of the same ware of early Sung date; among them is the pillow in BM dated A. D. 1071 (fig. 59 b).

An interest in small insects and butterflies seems to be a characteristic of Liao. Neither on T'ang nor on Sung specimens are butterflies a common motif. On certain Y ü e h y a o specimens from about the 10th century, however, we find designs with butterflies, as also on specimens of Northern celadon. None of those groups have any very close resemblance to the similar motifs found on Liao wares.¹⁾

¹⁾ Hobson, R. L.: Handbook of the Pottery & Porcelain of the Far East. British Museum. London 1937; pl. V. — Hobson, R. L.: A Catalogue of Chinese Pottery and Porcelain in the Collection of Sir Percival David. London 1934; pl. L (lower).

The butterflies and insects found on Ting yao are mostly found on specimens later than Northern Sung (cf. Sekai 10; pl. 77), and those seem to be influenced by the Liao ceramic.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BM	= The British Museum, London.
BMFEA	= The Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities. Stockholm.
CKc	= The Carl Kempe collection, Stockholm.
GVIAc	= The collection of H. M. Gustaf VI Adolf, Stockholm.
GEc	= Formerly the George Eumorfopoulos collection, London.
K. K. H. P.	= The K'ao Ku Hsüeh Pao. Peking.
MFEA	= The Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm.
O. A.	= Oriental Art, London.
O. Z.	= Ostasiatische Zeitschrift. Berlin.
RKM	= Röhaska Konstslöjdmuseet, Gothenburg.
T. O. C. S.	= Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society. London.
Tokyo NM	= Tokyo National Museum. Tokyo.
V&A	= Victoria & Albert Museum, London.
W. W. T. K. T. L.	= Wen Wu Ts'an K'ao Tzu Liao. Peking.

I 鷄冠壺	雞冠壺	V 鳳首瓶
鷄鐙壺		VI 唾壺
II 偏提		VII 清寧
III 馬鐙壺	馬蹬壺	VIII 牡丹
IV 穆宗		IX 慶州

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- e) Bottle, green glaze over white slip. Liao. Cat. of *The Arts of the T'ang Dynasty*, O. C. S. London 1955; no. 158.
- f) Liao bottle, dark green glaze. *Monumenta Serica*, Vol. II, 1936—37; pl. XII.
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FIG. 7.

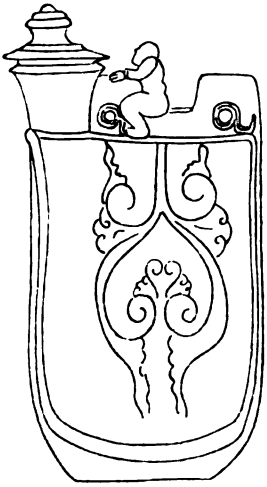
- a) Jar, three-colour glaze with incised flower ornament. Eumorfopoulos cat. I; no. 405, pl. 61.
- b) Detail from a jar, Liao three-colour glaze. Sekai 10; pl. 20.
- c) A crest-tile of the Liao period found in Ching chou. Torii, *Illustrations of Archaeology*; vol. 2, pl. 116.

FIG. 8.

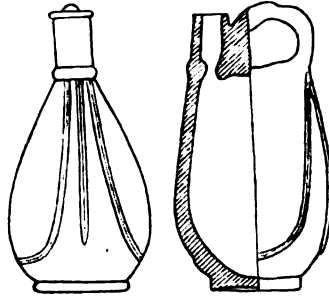
- a) Detail from an oval three-coloured bowl. Liao. Sekai 10; pl. 140 lower.
- b) Detail from a *Tz'u chou yao* plate. Sung. Hetherington: *The Early Ceramic Wares of China. Plate 34, fig. 1.*
- c) Detail from a celadon plate. T'ang. *Illustrated Catalogue of Old Oriental Ceramics, donated by Mr. Yokogawa. Tokyo NM. 1953. No. 14.*
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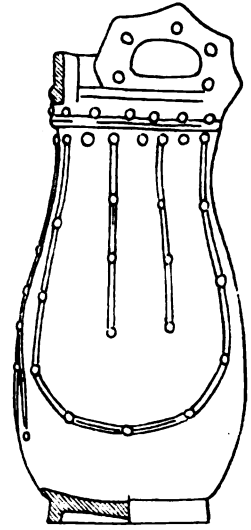
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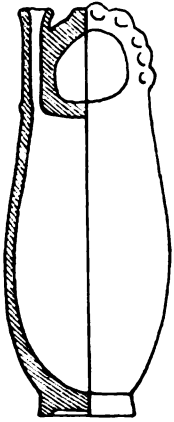
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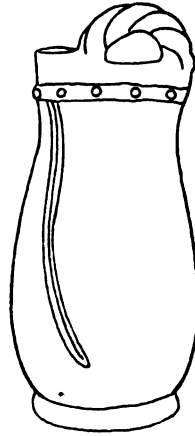
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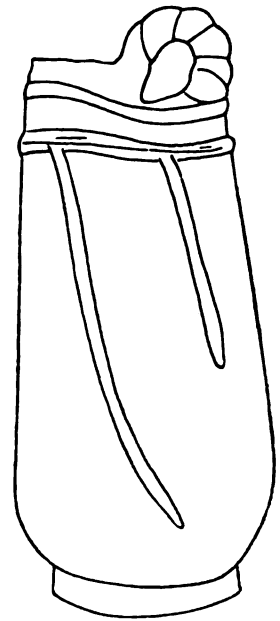
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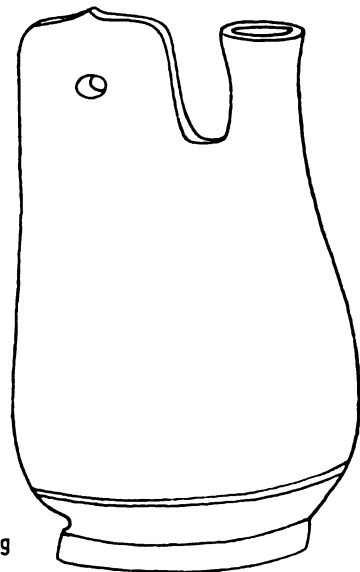
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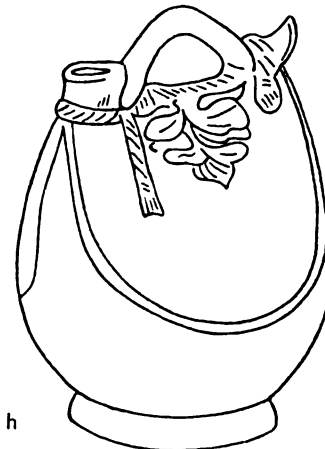
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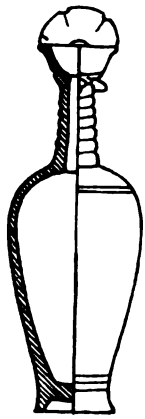
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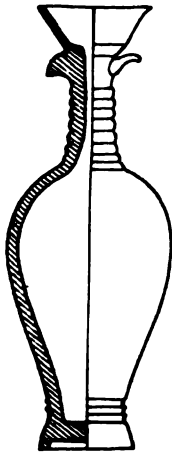
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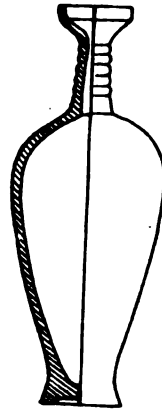
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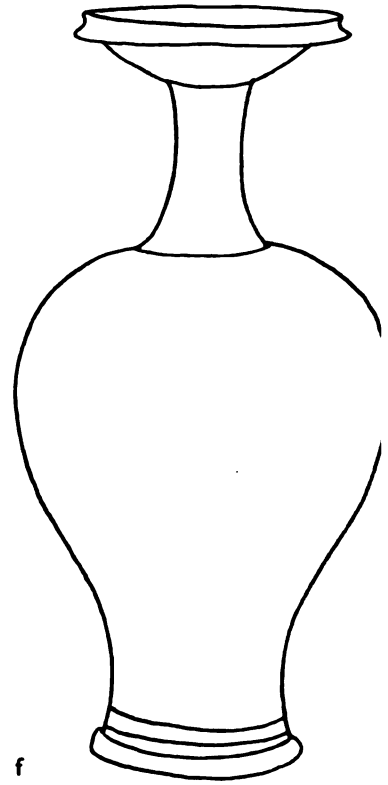
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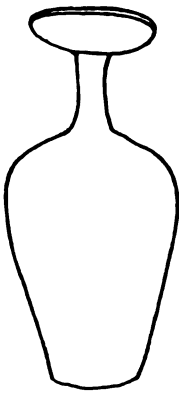
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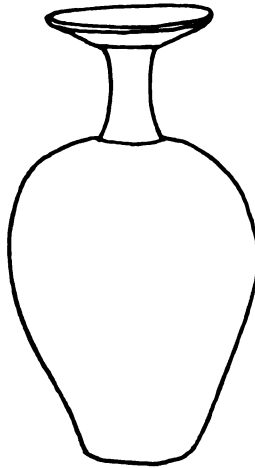
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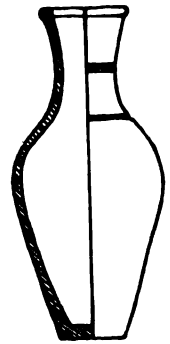
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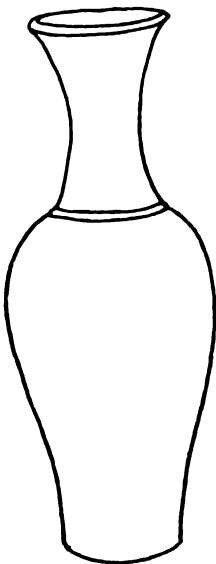
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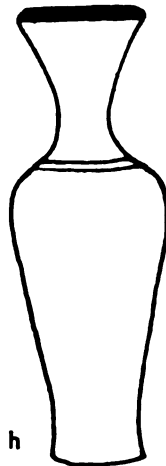
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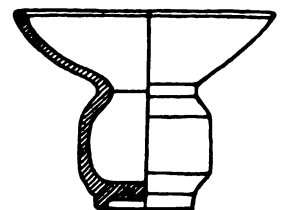
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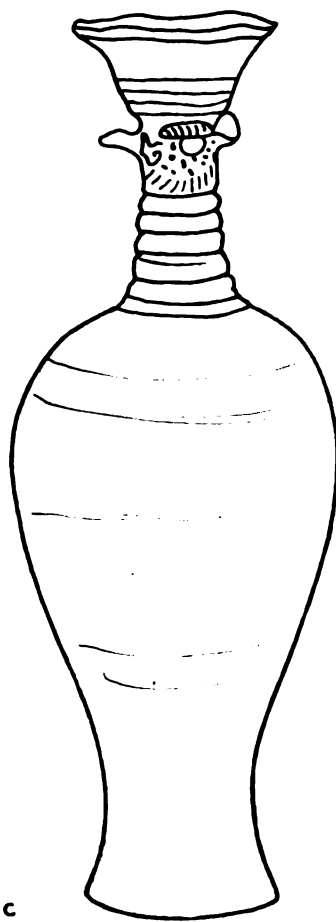
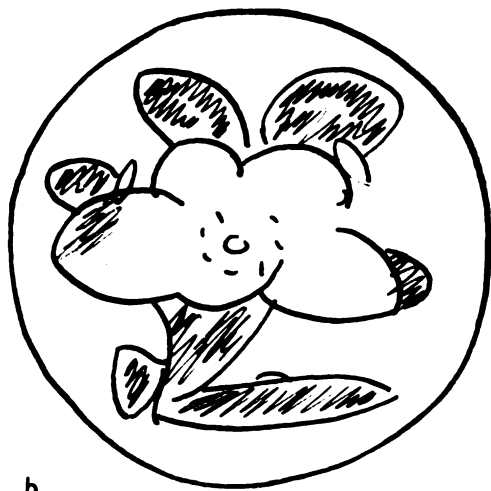
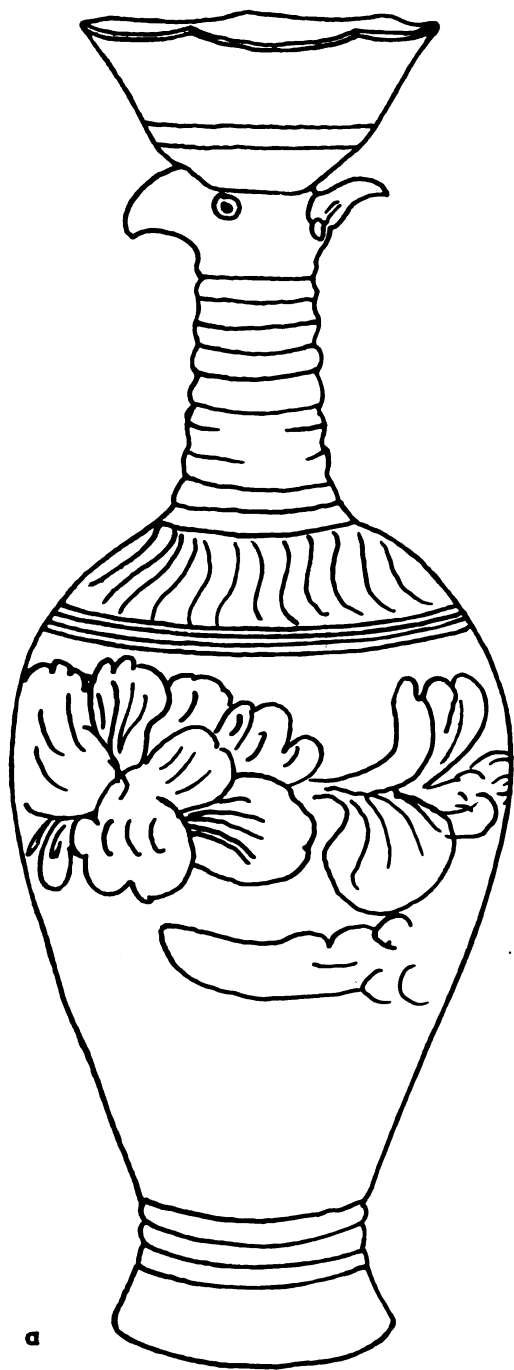
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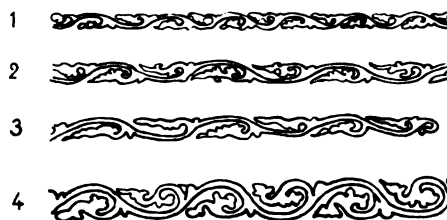
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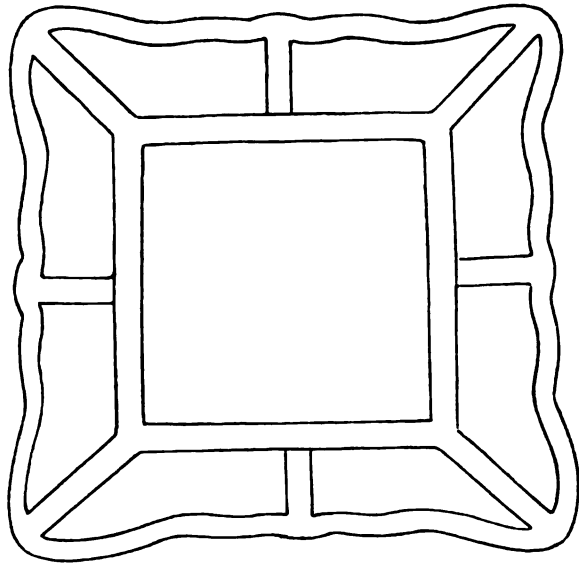
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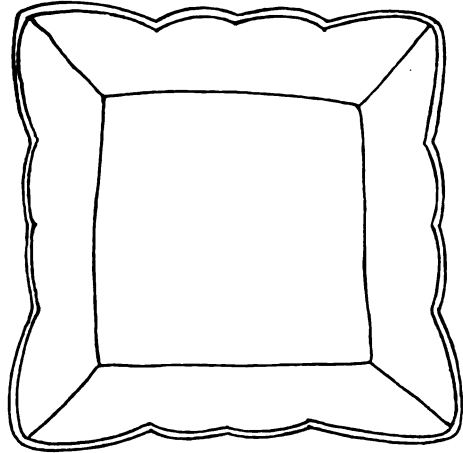
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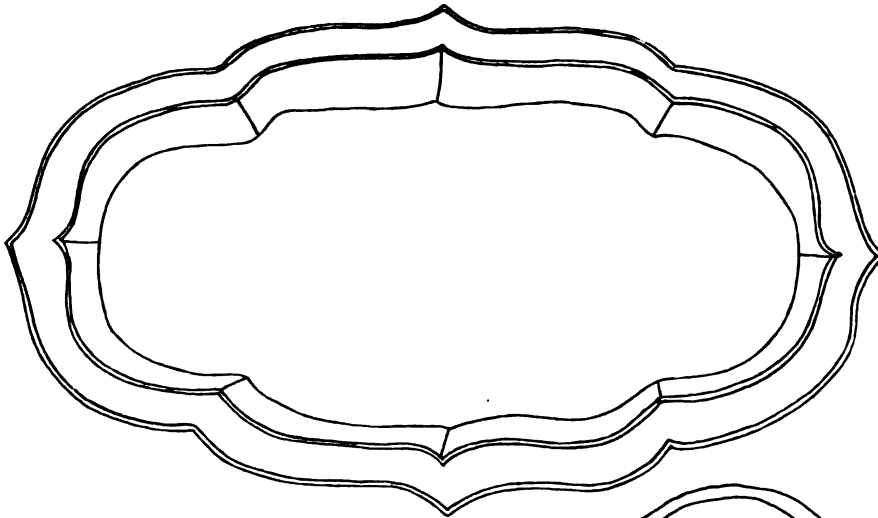
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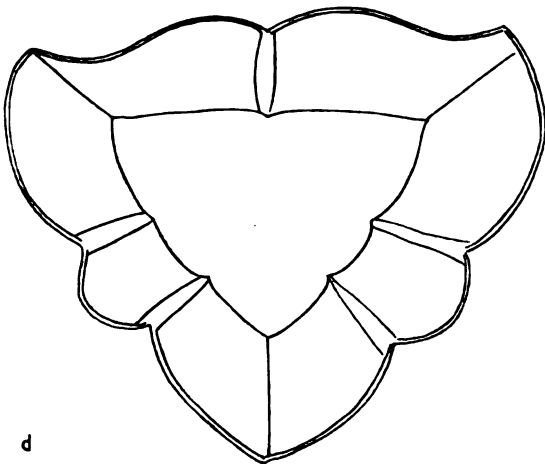
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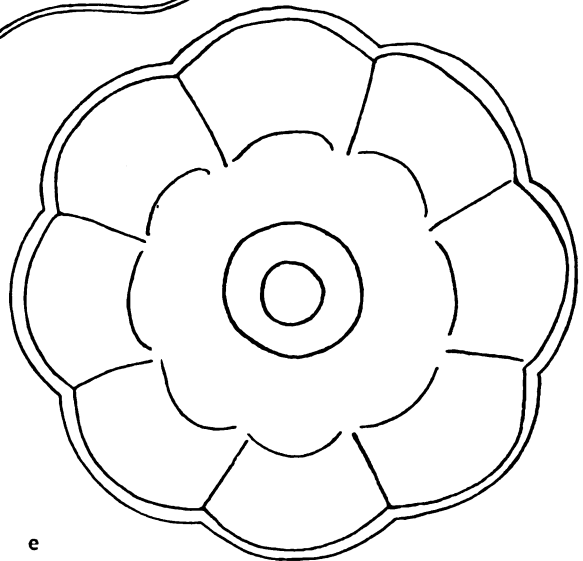
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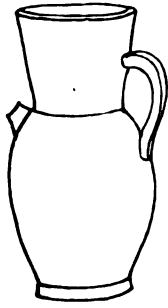
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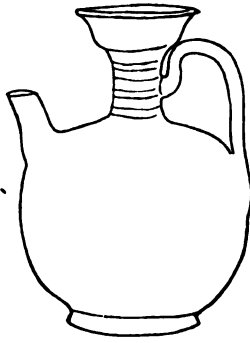
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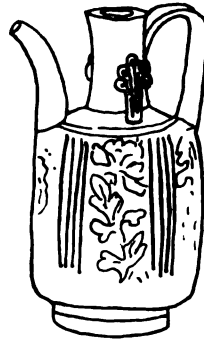
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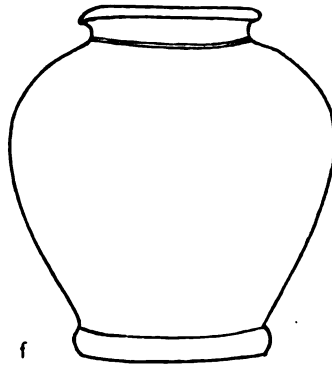
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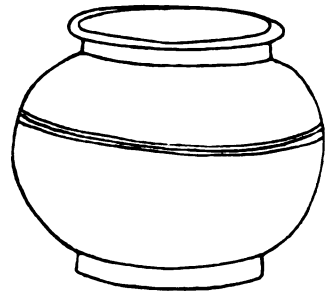
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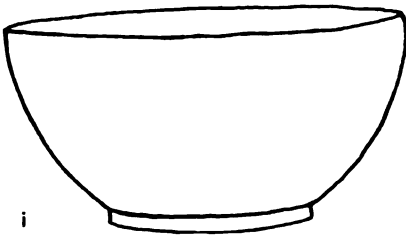
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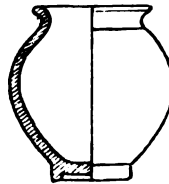
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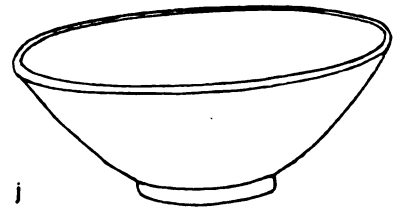
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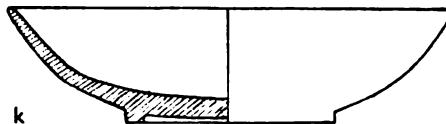
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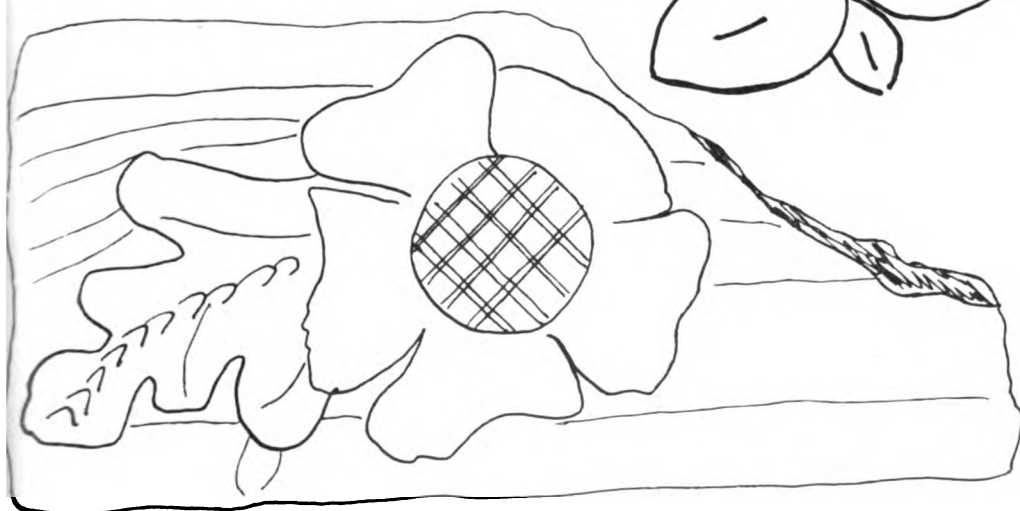
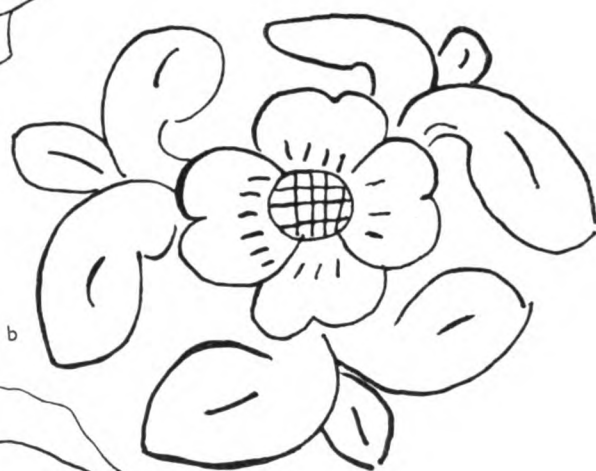
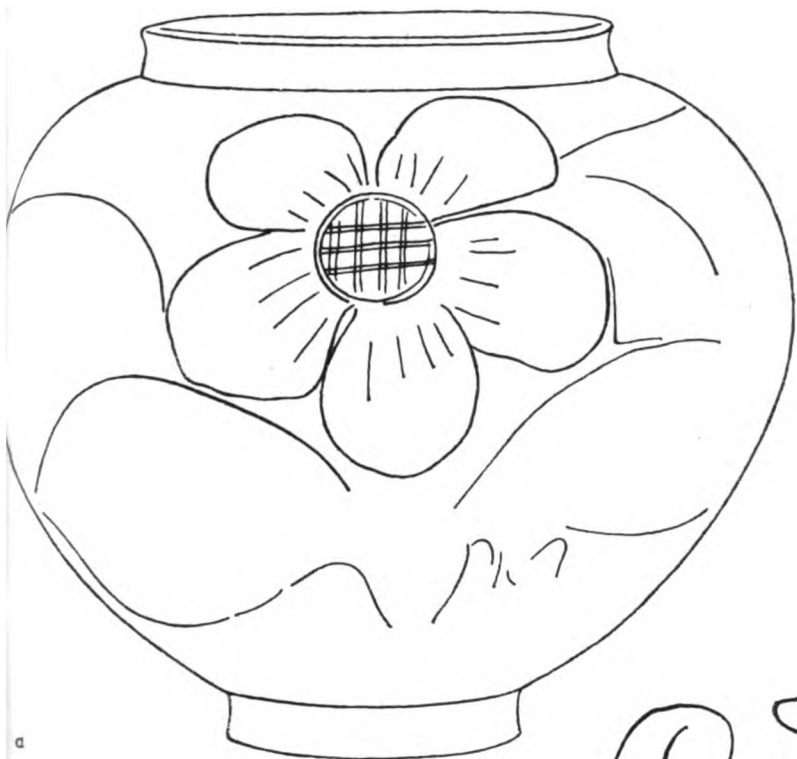
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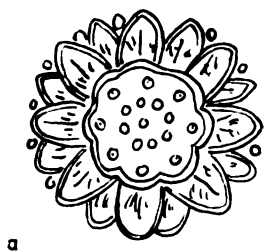


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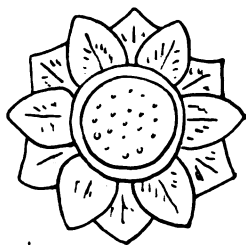


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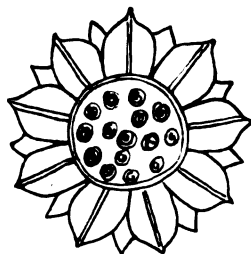




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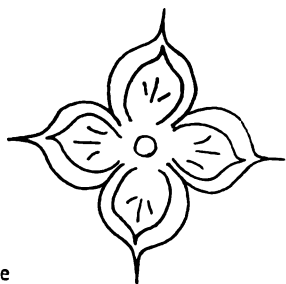
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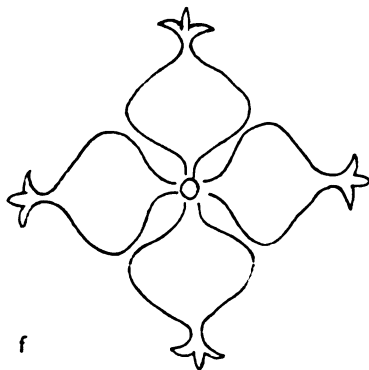
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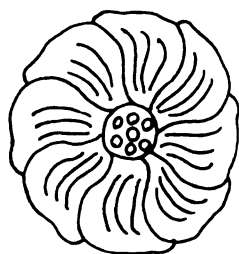
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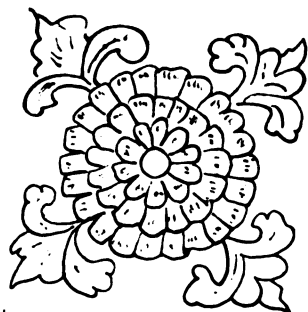
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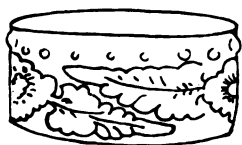
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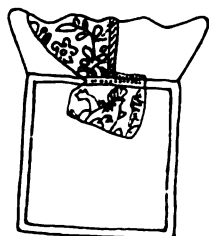
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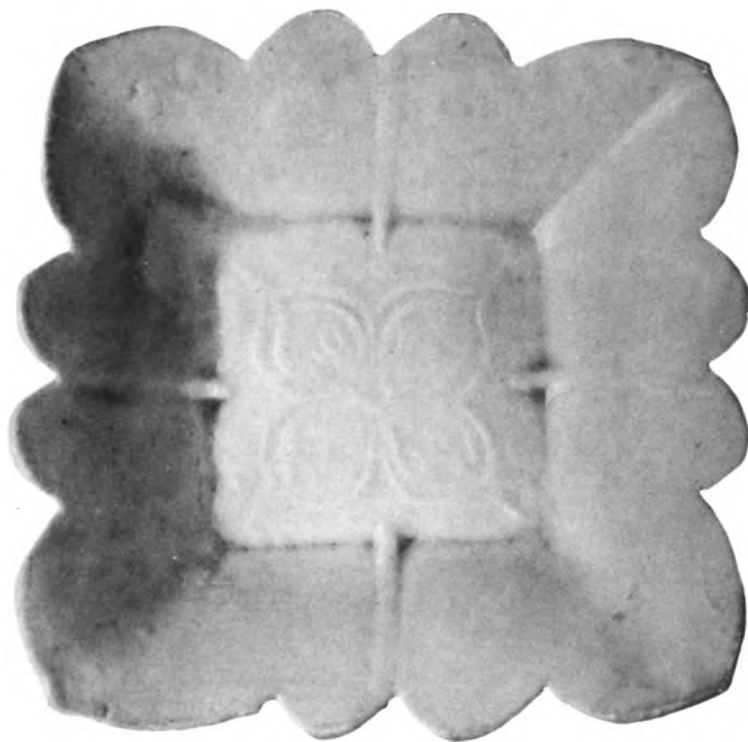
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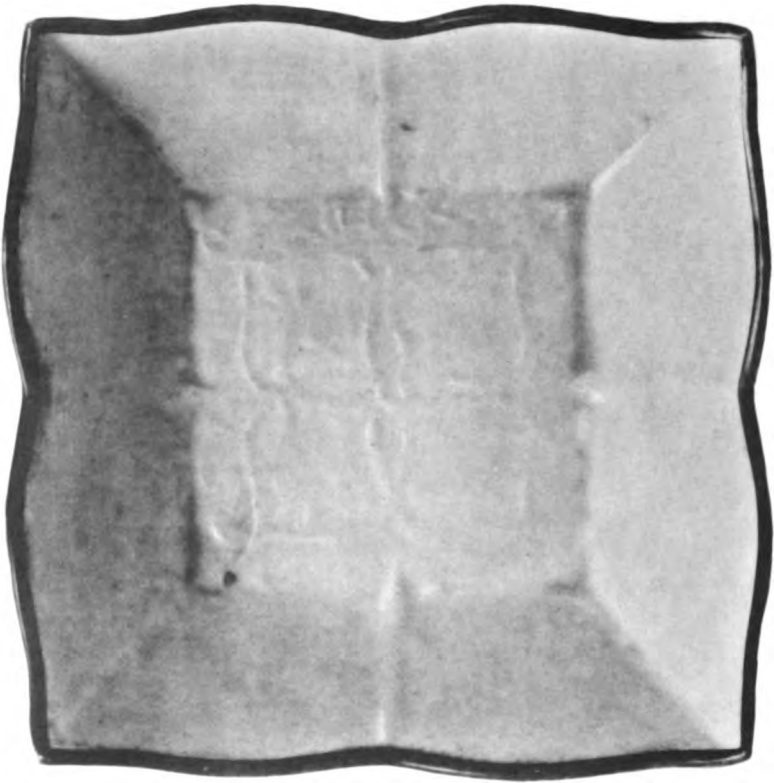


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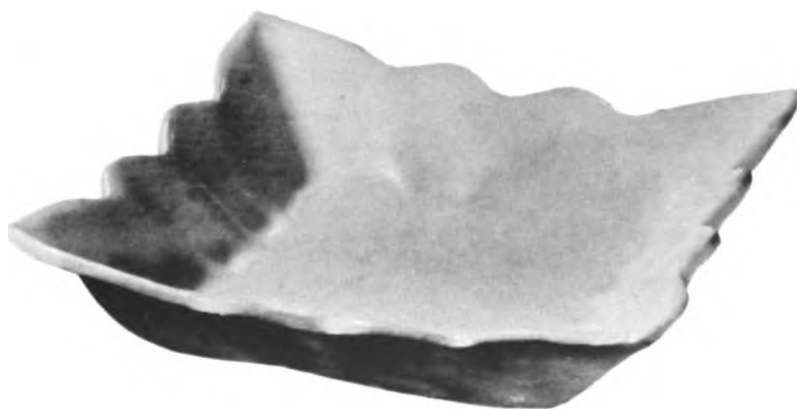








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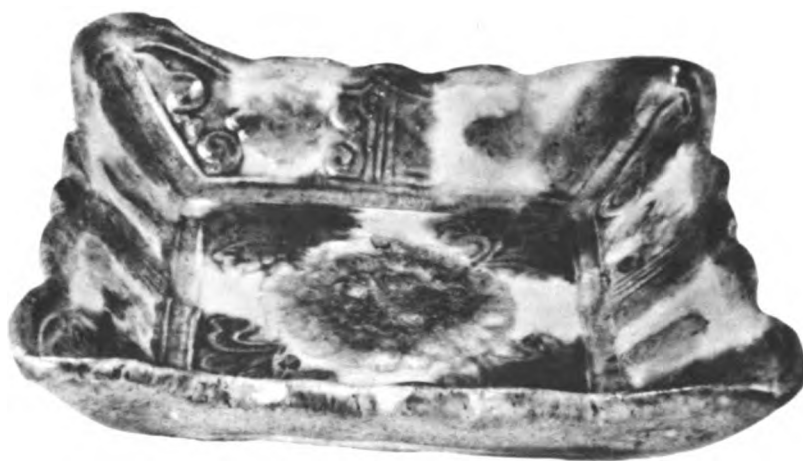








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SOUTH CHINESE INFLUENCE ON THE BUDDHIST ART OF THE SIX DYNASTIES PERIOD

BY

ALEXANDER SOPER

Chinese Buddhist art of the Six Dynasties period is known to us today almost entirely through evidence preserved in the North. It has been natural for art historians and connoisseurs to evaluate the achievements of the age in terms of this visible material, and so to classify it under headings borrowed from the names of the northern dynasties, Wei, Ch'i, and Chou. Almost nothing has been said about the South except by way of dismissal. The most cautious writers have been content to remark that southern Buddhist art has vanished so completely that nothing may be claimed about it with any confidence.¹⁾ Others, perhaps remembering the clichés of European history, have stressed the vitalizing effect in the North of a vigorous, new barbarian strain on the ancient Chinese tradition.²⁾ For more than a generation, claims have been on record that southern sculpture was probably greatly inferior both in quality and in quantity to that of the Wei Tartars.³⁾ Most recently it has been suggested that what progress may be surmised in the South itself was due to northern influence, effected when sculptors from the Northern Wei emigrated to the Liang and turned their talents from stone-cutting to bronze-casting.⁴⁾ I propose to outline in this paper the contrary thesis that the southern Buddhist art produced under the Chin, Sung, Southern Ch'i, and Liang regimes was the more powerful current of the two, as well as being at its topmost level artistically superior. Specifically I shall claim that the two dramatic changes of direction that brought northern art to maturity — the first in the decades after A. D. 480, the other in the third quarter of the sixth century — can be properly explained only by assuming powerful outside stimuli, which under the circumstances can have come only from the South.

Continuity and New Flowering in the South:

Literary evidence of early date, which I have explored elsewhere as completely as my resources permitted, tells a good deal about Buddhist art, and particularly about sculpture, at the southern courts.⁵⁾ We know that in general the work of highest quality was carried out in gilded bronze, and that at least from the latter half of the fourth century the southern mastersculptors were accustomed to produce

colossal figures twice the size of a man for their most important commissions.⁶⁾ Behind their achievements on behalf of the Buddhist Church must have lain the accumulated technical experience and the aesthetic training of nearly two thousand years of bronze casting, at least five hundred of which had involved the human figure or similar problems of representation. A variety of early sources testifies to the casting of a set of bronze colossi for the first Ch'in emperor in 221 B. C.⁷⁾ Under the Han sculpture ran riot, as both textual evidence and visible remains make clear. Its makers might strive toward monumentality, or abstraction, or realism; all that we know of their art suggests a superabundance of vitality and skill.

Even when the great age of imperial power and security came to an end, the South suffered no such catastrophic break in tradition and collapse of standards as did the North in the fourth and early fifth centuries. When after a brief interval of panic the emigré regime on the Yangtse was able to reestablish a military equilibrium, the creative force of Chinese culture reemerged with undiminished energy. The courts of the Nanking rulers fostered a brilliant flowering of the secular arts of painting, calligraphy, poetry, and music. The high level of accomplishment in these fields brought a new awareness of genius; and in a general atmosphere of intellectual vigor and alertness, stimulated the study of aesthetic problems and the creation of standards of taste. The great artist was followed and supported by the connoisseur and the critic.

In competing for its share of the fervor and experience of the southern masters, the Buddhist Church is likely to have found compliance more useful than doctrinal strictness. Arthur Wright has summarized the process by which the patterns of Indian thought were made congenial to the southern audience by translation into familiar terms.⁸⁾ Much the same process must have operated in Buddhist art, impeded only by the few inescapable rules of iconography (in Church architecture a purely Chinese standard seems to have been dominant from the start). In painting, Buddhist needs and Chinese genius met at least as early as the middle of the fourth century, when the young Ku K'ai-chih executed his immensely successful portrait of Vimalakirti for a monastery in the environs of Nanking, Wa-kuan-ssu.⁹⁾ There the balance must have weighed heavily on the Chinese side. There is no indication that any foreign models for the subject existed; and the very account given of the old philosopher in his *sūtra* made it natural that he should be visualized as a Chinese sage, on the model of Confucius.

In the same generation the Church found a master sculptor, Tai K'uei, who even more fully than Ku illustrated the utilization at the highest level of native taste, inventiveness, and technical knowledge. With the versatility of his time Tai was at once a scholar, a composer of *belles lettres*, a painter, and a musician of the first rank; he was in addition a great gentleman, widely loved for the richness and warmth of his personality. As a sculptor of Buddhist images he is remembered as an inventor who raised his craft from archaic rudeness to a new level of emotional expressiveness and beauty.¹⁰⁾ An anecdote suggests that his search drew him away from "worldliness" toward a new sense of spirituality and detachment.¹¹⁾ His son Yung (378—441) carried the family supremacy into the early years of the Sung

dynasty; stories told about his work emphasize no new inventiveness, but a subtlety and sureness of proportioning.¹²⁾

What I take to be the first mature Six Dynasties style, dominant in the South from the late fourth century until perhaps the second quarter of the sixth, must have grown from this distinguished beginning in the sculpture of the two Tai.¹³⁾ There are, to be sure, no more names of great sculptors after them in the southern records; but it is clear that the art, like contemporary religious painting — where the remembered names of experts are many — was taken very seriously and was supported by the highest and most knowing patronage. The Southern Ch'i Emperor Wu (r. 483—493) valued the "Buddhas" in his personal possession so greatly that he left a special provision in his will forbidding their dispersal.¹⁴⁾ Lay writers as celebrated as the dynastic historian Shen Yo and the second Liang ruler composed eulogies for statues made for imperial devotions.¹⁵⁾ The most celebrated prince-aesthete of the period, Hsiao Tzu-liang of Southern Ch'i (460—494), an arbiter of secular taste who collected about him the most promising scholars and writers of the day, was also a fervent devotee of Buddhism. A long treatise from his hand, outlining a kind of layman's guide to sainthood, includes a testimonial to the joy given him by his patronage of the Buddhist arts, temple building, icon painting, and sculpture in wood, gold, silver, bronze, or stone.¹⁶⁾

We know, finally, that the direction of three of the most difficult sculptural problems of early Liang, the casting of a colossal bronze Buddha and the excavation of two great cave temples with rock-cut images, was entrusted to a monk expert, Seng-yo, who in Buddhist terms must have been almost as much of an *uomo universale* as Tai K'uei.¹⁷⁾ He first won recognition as an expert on monastic discipline, and as such was several times invited to lecture during the preceding regime by Prince Hsiao Tzu-liang. Later his experience and good sense made him the foremost priestly adviser to the Liang Emperor Wu on all major problems involving the clergy. Posterity has known him best as the author or compiler of several books of first importance, particularly an anthology of Chinese Buddhist compositions of literary interest, the *Hung Ming Chi*. A practical bent led him in one direction to an active career as a restorer of rundown temples, and in another to the invention of a newly efficient type of book-case for monastic libraries. His contemporary biography in the *Kao Seng Chuan* adds that "he was naturally inventive, and was able to estimate by eye what he had planned. Since common artisans must have rules and dimensions to avoid mistakes, [when the time came to fashion] the colossi of Kuang-chai-she and Mount She, and the stone Buddha of Yen-hsien, Yu was asked to make the plans and to provide drawn cartoons for them to follow." Admiration for his creative and critical powers seems to have granted him some share in the aura of wonder that the Chinese have more often ascribed to the greatest painters like Ku K'ai-chih. We are told that on the day before his arrival to take charge of the excavation at Yen-hsien, a local monk saw him in a dream in the guise of "a great deity dressed all in black, standing with outspread wings majestically at the spot where the niche was to be, and pondering over the dimensions".¹⁸⁾

The almost total lack of any visible evidence for the existence of this highly developed Buddhist art in its home-land must be due primarily to the fact that it was carried out almost always in perishable materials, in bronze, lacquer, clay, or wood. Stone-carving did flourish in the South for mortuary use, and there reached an extraordinary height of sculptural power, as the guardian monsters from the tombs of the Ch'i and Liang princes around Nank'ing testify. In the Buddhist world it must always have been exceptional. An undercurrent of carving in intrinsically beautiful stones probably existed at the court level; the testament of the Ch'i Emperor Wu speaks first of all of his "jade image", and a record of imperial donations ascribes the making of a "white jade image" (i. e. of marble?) to the first concubine of Emperor Ming of the Sung (r. 465—472).¹⁹) Such works, however, would also have been more perishable than ordinary stone, since their materials could be recut for patrons unafraid of sacrilege. One of the atrocities ascribed to the last ruler of Southern Ch'i, for example, was the destruction of a famous "jade image" from Ceylon, to fashion hair-pins for his favorite concubine.²⁰)

The two ambitious cave temple excavations carried out by the Ch'i and Liang regimes in the eastern Yangtse region, at Yen-hsien in Chekiang and in the Mount She range northeast of Nanking, are likely to have been directly inspired by the Northern Wei feats at Yün-kang. Neither of these, in addition, has any value for our present purpose. The Chekiang cave seems to have disappeared, and the other is known today only by one rock-cut image, too damaged and too clumsily restored to reveal anything of its original style.

One other exception is furnished by the widespread practise of stone carving in the far western province of Szechwan, attested both by literary sources of the period²¹) and by modern finds. These last have been published in brief preliminary reports, with inferior illustrations, in various Communist publications during the last decade. Recently the most important group so far known, a selection from the more than two hundred pieces dating from the sixth century and later found in the ruins of a Ch'eng-tu temple, has been made more accessible through an album of good photographs, with a text providing the essential facts.²²) This new evidence, in spite of its remote, provincial origin, is of the highest importance, and will be featured in the later portion of my argument.

The "Dark Ages" in the North:

In north China civilization was certainly not destroyed by the barbarian victories and seizures of power that began in the early fourth century with the downfall of the Western Chin. The processes of physical destruction and cultural decline probably operated very unevenly. Some areas that had once been centers of civilized life — above all the old capitals, Ch'ang-an and Lo-yang — were as thoroughly wrecked and depopulated as sixth century Rome after the Gothic wars. Others were relatively little affected; Kansu was held intact through much of the century by a hardy line of Chinese viceroys, and even after its surrender suffered only minor campaigns until the great Wei invasion of 439.²⁴) Everywhere, however, the cumulative effects of so many decades of violences and disorder — so many mas-

sacres and panic flights and mass deportations, so much looting, famine, and enslavement, the disappearance of great cities and the break-down of communications — must have depressed the whole cultural level. Doubtless the gravest loss was felt in those achievements that had been most highly developed in securer times: in the fine arts, music, poetry, and the Chinese gentleman's ideal of gracious and humane living.

The artistic skills that had been accumulated by the end of Western Chin in 317 seem to have survived the Hunnish conquest of the North without serious impairment for a generation. The blood-thirsty despot Shih Hu, in the 330's and 340's, enjoyed himself and planned his wars in a capital city of fantastic splendor, unmatched perhaps since the most reckless days of the Han empire: a setting created for him by enslaved Chinese workmen and one-time court artists.²⁵) After the collapse of his kingdom many of these last were able to escape southward and reenter imperial service, hastening the revival at Nanking.²⁶) In the North twilight deepened into a true Dark Age. The histories describe no more pleasure-cities like the Hunnish capital at Yeh until the restoration of Lo-yang in the early sixth century. The Tangut Fu Chien, who established himself at Ch'ang-an in the 370's and 380's at the center of a mushroom northern empire, won amazement by the riches he had looted, or forced by intimidation from his tributaries in Central Asia. His palace and his city won notice only when, on his downfall, they were in the routine way burned.²⁷) The T'o-pa state of Northern Wei, in beginning to expand rapidly across the North in the early decades of the fifth century, both inherited cultural confusion and for a time deepened it. Until the second half of the century its capital, Tai or P'ing-ch'eng on the Mongolian border, must have resembled more than anything else a huge refugee camp, periodically swelled by some new forced migration of conquered peoples.

The envoys from the Sung state who visited the city during the reign of the great conqueror T'ai Wu Ti (424—452) found there a thin Chinese veneer over what must have seemed to them sheer barbarism.²⁸) In several conspicuous areas not even the veneer had been applied. The imperial harem still lived in lodges with sod roofs; the female slaves who formed its substratum contributed to the ruler's privy purse by trading in wines, or raising pigs, sheep, cattle, and horses, and growing vegetables for the market. The first empress, a Hunnish princess from the defeated Ho-lien regime in Shensi, liked to issue from her quarters to hunt for informal refreshments in the palace kitchen. Shih Hu's Yeh had been a forest of tall pleasure towers;²⁹) the carpenters at Tai had largely forgotten the art of raising multi-storeyed buildings. Several early texts describe the great size and splendid materials of Shih's Great War Hall on its marble platform; all that the Sung envoys found to say about the equivalent buildings at the T'o-pa capital was that they had tiled roofs, and so satisfied the minimum requisite for monumentality. (The only exceptions were structures enriched by materials — marble slabs or carved pillars — pillaged from the remains of the Yeh palace.) The Sung account lists a few treasures that were visible inside the audience hall, lacquered screens with dragon and phoenix designs, gilded *po-shan* incense burners, a glass basin; but

these, like Fu Chien's collection in the previous century, were probably loot or tribute. The Wei palace compound contained a Shang-fang, a state work-shop bearing the same name as those that in the Chinese imperial past had created miracles of craftsmanship in bronze, lacquer, and silk for aristocratic use. At Tai the state artisans "worked in iron and wood", presumably to make such common necessities as weapons, tools, wagons and furniture.

As is well known, the T'o-pa way of life evolved in no more than two generations from the Spartan rudeness of T'ai Wu Ti's capital to the luxury and sophistication of Lo-yang. Though certain qualities native to the T'o-pa clan itself may well have facilitated the change, its extraordinary rapidity and completeness can be explained only by the almost explosive reemergence within the Wei frontiers of the Chinese cultural pattern. I shall argue below that the process was periodically hastened and partially redirected by stimuli from the South. Unquestionably its success as a whole was due to the steadily increasing importance granted by the Wei government to the Chinese gentry who were native to the North.

It is clear that from the first appearance of the T'o-pa tribe as a military power its fortunes were closely linked with those of the Chinese who became its subjects. The early T'o-pa leaders, though terrible enough in war, were no collectors of skulls like Tamerlane. With the other northern and western tribes who had lived for centuries on the frontiers of the Chinese empire, they seem to have acquired at least a rudimentary appreciation of Chinese skills before their period of ascendancy. In addition they learned, apparently, the first premise of the Chinese art of war: the belief that victory should be achieved as economically as possible. To judge by the biographies in the Wei history, the greatest part of the North — in the sense of square miles, towns, and people — was secured for the new empire by the mere threat of violence. Savage and costly fighting was required to deal with barbarian rivals like the long-entrenched Mu-jung regime in the northeast. Once the enemy armies had been destroyed, the potential pockets of local resistance — the walled towns and great, half-militarized estates — were for the most part surrendered speedily and with a show of enthusiasm by their Chinese proprietors. The latter, as their share in the bargain, received a reasonably safe acknowledgment of their local importance. The great landowners were typically made *t'ai-shou* or grand wardens of the districts their clans dominated, and if they were sufficiently distinguished might be ennobled into the same hierarchy as the T'o-pa chiefs.

Those Chinese who showed any special aptitudes useful to the conquerors were from the beginning likely to be called still more closely into the imperial service (as they or their forebears might have served the earlier barbarian courts). Educated men of the traditional ruling class were indeed likely to possess a whole range of useful faculties. As habitual recorders and organizers they were indispensable in dealing with the Chinese peasantry, regularizing the distribution of forced labor and the collection of taxes. They supervised the upkeep or restoration of irrigation systems, canals, dikes, roads, and bridges. They knew how to cope with natural disasters by swift measures of relief. Where their Confucian humanitarianism was allowed to operate they often provided a valuable counterbalance to the harshness

of war and tyranny; the ability to reassure and to mollify became a standard attribute of the ideal official.

Even in the Dark Ages the Chinese were craftsmen beyond the capacity of any steppe nomad.³⁰) They possessed more varied and learned means of access to supernatural guidance through their mastery of astrology, of divination, and so on, than any shaman; it was they, also, who excelled in the half-magical art of healing. They had assumed direction over a rapidly growing new religion, Buddhism: as yet not fully understood, but full mystery and promise. They were from the outset valuable, and grew more so, even in the T'o-pa's own specialty, war-making.

In the most obvious sense the Chinese were at home with the problems of organizing the collection and transportation needed for a protracted campaign. They were the experts in the taking or the defense of walled cities. As the Wei conquerors began to look south across the Yellow River, their understanding of a new sort of terrain, and particularly of the military potentialities of water, became indispensable. Only they could train the Wei troops in the intricacies of river transportation and combat that the southerners knew so well. Against the South, they became the Wei emperor's most gifted intelligence officers and his most versatile practitioners of psychological warfare, adept in winning quick surrenders by fair speaking, shows of mercy, and bribery. By the same token they were also his most resourceful ambassadors. Their disciplined minds could sometimes be turned with outstanding success even to the major problems of war planning. Thus T'ai Wu Ti's most influential Chinese minister, Ts'ui Hao, who in private life fulfilled the obligations of his caste by reading voluminously and practising calligraphy — his hand was the most admired in his generation — was as a Wei councillor the army's foremost strategist. His bold, clear, and logical designs were justified again and again, not only against Chinese enemies but most dramatically where the conditions of war were completely alien to his personal experience, in the grand punitive campaign of 429 against the nomad Juan-juan on the steppes. When the time came to celebrate victory in a great state banquet, the delighted emperor called on his vassals to mark well a man "so delicate and weak that his hands can neither bend a bow nor wield a lance, but who holds in his breast more than any mailed warrior. From the start we ourselves have held designs of conquest, without bringing them to final decision; throughout, our victories have been due to this man's leadership."³¹)

The Chinese possessed, finally, resources far beyond the reach of any nomad, first in their ability to draw on the experience of the past through books, and second, by their insistence on guarding and transmitting their knowledge and mental discipline through organized study.³²)

In time, as everyone knows, such cultural assets proved so essential to the maintenance of the Wei empire, and promised a way of life so much more rewarding than the barbarian one, that they came close to stifling the non-Chinese tradition entirely. In the metropolitan society that grew up at Lo-yang in the first quarter of the sixth century, as all the visible riches of the Chinese way of life came once again into fruit — scholarship, literature, the arts, music, fine garments, elaborate

ceremonies, the pleasures of careless luxury — specific T'o-pa traits must have almost completely disappeared. The grandees of the old Hsien-pi stock, named and dressed like their Chinese subjects and committed to the same, Chinese language, must have been even more completely assimilated than the Peking Manchus of late Ch'ing. The human contrast involved between the beginning and the end of the Northern Wei period might be summed up roughly in a comparison of the attributes recorded for two junior members of the ruling house. The Prince of Ch'en-liu, Ch'ien, a grandson of the mid fourth century chief who immediately preceded the imperial era, was remembered as a giant of superhuman strength, who used over-sized weapons. His favorite gesture in combat was to pierce an enemy with his lance and then raise him high into the air.³³) In the West, one might find something like his equivalent in the hulking Norman Crusader, Bohemund of Antioch. To match my second T'o-pa example a little over a century later, one would have to search in France among the humanist lords of the early Renaissance, after an interval four or five times as great. The Prince of Kuang-ping, K'uang, was in the general conduct of his life a punctilious Confucianist. He was in particular devoted to a reform of the state system of weights and measures, and pushed his own theories — based of course on earlier Chinese usage — through all the vicissitudes of his career.³⁴)

In the generation from which the first modest attempts at a Wei Buddhist art have been preserved, however, the second quarter of the fifth century, this process had barely begun. The age was dominated by the fiercely aggressive ambitions of the conqueror T'ai Wu Ti, and was punctuated first of all by his successful campaigns in every direction. The capital city, Tai, outside of a few palace and shrine buildings in a rustic version of the Chinese monumental style, was primarily a great barracks and arsenal, and a concentration camp for prisoner-immigrants. The Chinese who held positions at court or in the army were still relatively few, and were employed primarily to meet the pressing needs of a war-time state. Even they, coming as they did from provincial towns or isolated estates in a half barbaric world, must have been partially barbarized, like their Gallo-Roman counterparts in Merovingian service. The still precarious nature of their relationship with their conquerors is melodramatically illustrated by the fate of their leader, Ts'ui Hao. After a lifetime of loyal service in which he had won again and again the highest praise from the emperor, he was savagely executed in 450 because a history of the Wei state written under his direction in the old Confucian style was thought defamatory. To make the lesson as telling as possible, not only his entire family but even his distant relatives and more than a hundred of his assistants and secretaries were massacred.³⁵)

One of the points brought out by Ts'ui Hao's tragedy is the fact that the T'o-pa rulers from an early date began to take very seriously the potential power of Chinese writing. Several early biographies reveal both the strong curiosity of the first and second emperors before the storehouse of Chinese literature and the very narrow limits of their ability to appreciate what lay at their disposal. One such account is particularly interesting for its accessory details. The subject, a certain Li Hsien

from northern Honan, was an expert fortune-teller and physiognomist. He offered his services to the Wei founder after having acted as a high adviser to both Fu Chien and Mu-jung Yung. Far from resenting this political adroitness, T'ai Tsu asked him what offices his ancestors had held; and on finding that his father had served Shih Hu and his grandfather the Chin empire, offered him the choice of any appropriate position in his own entourage. When Li replied with a conventional disclaimer of competence, the emperor questioned him specifically about his experience of the art of war and the lore of reading winds. Later, after the Chinese had been taken into Wei service and had demonstrated his usefulness, T'ai Tsu sought his advice on what sort of books should be collected for a state library. Li recommended a nation-wide search for histories and manuals of astrology and magic. Still later, when asked to assign priorities, he recommended two works: the harsh, Machiavellian treatise of Han Fei Tzu on state-craft, and a classical summary of the art of war.³⁶⁾ The second ruler, T'ai Tsung, took advantage of the young Ts'ui Hao's precocity to take lessons from him in the uses of Yin and Yang, the Book of Changes, the Five Agents, and astrology, and named him as an official soothsayer; in which capacity, we are told, his decisions on a variety of portents contributed several times to the successes of the Wei armies.³⁷⁾

During the first half of the fifth century, again, Wei relations with the South were normally hostile. There were several full-scale wars; in the intervals embassies were exchanged infrequently, and seem never to have had more than a bluntly utilitarian purpose. A factor that later was to be of great importance in cultural transmission, the flight northward of important refugees from coups d'état at the Nanking court, came into existence between the second and third Wei reigns, but seems to have had almost no effect at the time. Of the two junior members of the Ssu-ma clan who escaped from proscription at the downfall of the Eastern Chin, only one, Ch'u-chih, had a career of any consequence in the North, and that was spent almost entirely in vengeful campaigning on the frontier against the Sung.³⁸⁾ An anecdote about another officer-refugee, Wang Hui-lung, is doubly revealing.³⁹⁾ Ts'ui Hao was so pleased to have made contact with a true southern aristocrat that he had Wang married to his own niece. He made the mistake of praising the other's good looks and fine bearing too frequently at court, however, and so finally provoked a leader of the old barbarian faction to complain to the emperor that so much admiration for a southerner was an insult to the nation. T'ai Wu Ti himself flared into anger and upbraided Ts'ui, who could escape from the situation only by humble penitence. Perhaps as a consequence, Wang spent most of the rest of his life with the Wei armies facing the South.

As has been frequently remarked in recent years, the most powerful outside influence experienced by the Wei in the generation of T'ai Wu Ti is likely to have come from the West, i. e. from Central Asia and ultimately from India. The Kansu state of Northern Liang had been deeply permeated by Buddhist teachings; the Wei history speaks particularly of its outermost reaches around Tun-huang, where temples were especially widespread and where the frequency of contacts with westerners encouraged a close imitation of foreign models. After the region had

been swallowed up in T'ai Wu Ti's last great march of conquest in 439—440, the forced migration of Kansu households that followed brought this potent combination of zeal and learning into the heart of the T'o-pa realm.⁴⁰⁾ Soon Wei Buddhism itself began to expand at an accelerated rate, under leaders anxious to maintain a westward orientation. The very few small stone and bronze images that have been preserved from the period show this instinct for dependence in its first, most immature and awkward phase.⁴¹⁾

Yün-kang and the Sinicizing Style:

There is no need to describe here either the mid-century persecution by which the ageing emperor attempted to exterminate the Buddhist Church; or the immediate sequel to his murder in 452, the tremendous impulse toward penitence and restitution that reached its climax in the imperial excavations at Yün-kang. As is well known, the major cave temples completed during the first phase of Yün-kang sculpture in the 460's and 470's, the row of five colossal niches numbered XVI—XX and the two pairs of smaller but still monumental chambers, VII—VIII and IX—X, are overwhelmingly western in their iconography and style. It is obvious that much more than mere copying was involved in the creation of these great complexes, to be sure. No exact prototypes for them are known anywhere,⁴²⁾ and there is no written proof of the participation of foreign craftsmen or monk-supervisors. It is likely that western precedents were transmitted in fragments, so to speak, by means of small, easily portable images and paintings, iconographic pattern-books, and the vague descriptions of travellers. The general idea of a colossal image in a mountain-side setting was perhaps derived from memories of the celebrated "hundred-foot" Maitreya in the upper Indus kingdom of Darēl, which had been visited several times by Chinese pilgrims in the early fifth century.⁴³⁾ The Yün-kang combinations — beginning with the variations on the colossus theme worked out in the five relatively simple niche caves — became increasingly varied and original even during the first two decades. The sculptural elements, at the same time, remained obstinately exotic, for the most part Mathuran or Gandharan in origin (fig. 1).

The circumstances that encouraged this continuing westward orientation included a new physical accessibility: the prestige of T'ai Wu Ti's rapidly expanding rule brought envoys in large numbers from the Central Asian states from 435 on. The Wei annals record a tapering off after the first few years, but sporadic missions were received from even more remote countries until the late 470's. To cite only the most easily identified, Ferghana sent envoys in 437, 449, 452 and 465; Kashmir in 450 and 452; Persia in 455, 461, 466, 468 and 476; the Hephthalites in 466; and both "Western India" and "Śrāvasti" in 477.⁴⁴⁾ Within the Wei frontiers, the all-important liaison post between the Buddhist Church and the state was held first by a Kashmiri missionary whose Chinese name was Shih-hsien, and then, after 460, by the former Kansu prelate T'an-yao.⁴⁵⁾ Two extraordinary missionary visits from the West, granted such importance that they were recorded in the Wei history, occurred during Shih-hsien's incumbency, happily timed so as to stimulate the new

emperor's piety. In 455 five monks said to be Sinhalese arrived at the capital, bringing three Buddha images; one of these was a replica of the supernatural "shadow" or aura likeness of Śākyamuni visible in a cave near modern Hadda in Afghanistan. In the same period a monk came from the Central Asian city-state of Kashgar with a painted icon and what he claimed was Śākyamuni's own begging-bowl.⁴⁶)

It was also at Yün-kang, however, in the final years of the first phase of work, that the first of the dramatic shifts in the character of northern art of which I have spoken took place. The initial change was a restricted one, a new way of characterizing the two principal figures in the pantheon, Buddha and Bodhisattva. Its effect is most consistently seen in the richest of all the Yün-kang excavations, Cave VI (figs. 2, 3). Handled more tentatively it appears throughout the paired caves I and II, and in VI's neighbor, V. Its maturest early handling is visible in the rows of the Seven Buddhas of the Past in XI and XIII. At what seems to be a still later stage of assurance it is present as an invader at the eastern end of the row of imperial niches, embodied in the colossal Buddha of XVI.

The differences between new and old with both types of deity involve first of all an altered costume, and then a novel aesthetic emphasis. The new Buddha figure suggests more directly than the Bodhisattva an immediate reason for the change. At first sight, at least, he no longer seems to wear the *samghāti* of Buddhist tradition, the square piece of cloth wound around the body as an outer garment; instead, his costume looks very much like a Chinese robe, tailored with long, full sleeves and a vertical opening down the chest. The Japanese editors of the recently published Yün-kang reports have attempted to explain this Chinese look in the simplest possible way, by seeing it as a result of the cultural revolution carried out in the late 480's and 490's by the Sinophile Emperor Kao Tsu. In 486 the latter adopted for his own use and that of his court officials a new style of formal dress, based on Chinese ceremonial tradition. Mizuno and Nagahiro suppose that from that year on the Buddha, too, was conceived in the guise of a Chinese sage-ruler, in direct response to the imperial will.⁴⁷) The argument seems to me a step in the right direction, but too baldly presented to be fully convincing. The fifth century Buddha, even in His earthly manifestations, was conceived of in super-human terms. His visible body, although man-like in the most general sense, was distinguished from those of ordinary mortals by a series of rare physical attributes, the *lakṣaṇa*. His traditional Indian robe had been worn in art ever since the formation of the Gandharan style in a unique way, similar but not quite identical to the dress assigned to ordinary monks; it had always represented, in an artistic sense, some sort of compromise between realism and unnatural formalization. Compromise is in fact continued in the Yün-kang formula. The outer garment worn by the standing Buddhas of Cave VI is not really a kimono-like dress of Chinese cut at all, but rather a strange medley of new Chinese and old Indian elements, combined in a way impossible to explain in terms of functional clothing. Its aesthetic elaboration, again, is achieved by a wide, fish-tail splaying and pleating of the skirt which is as non-natural as the most formal drapery patterns of the

older, westernizing style. It seems to me very unlikely that so extraordinary a garment could have been directly and quickly derived from the severe conventions of Chinese court dress; and even more improbable that so radical an innovation in the iconography of the Buddha — a change more drastic than any other in the whole history of Buddhist art — could have been carried out by the Northern Wei regime by its own choice. The Buddha's dress was in the minds of his worshippers almost as much a part of His divine semblance as His *uṣṇisa* or the positions of His hands. Any tampering with the accepted form ran the grave risk of destroying the correctness of the image (as it would have in traditional Christian art), and so rendering it ineffective or even sacrilegious. Such tampering did, in fact, occur in China; but I believe that it must have taken place earlier and elsewhere, at the hands of Chinese Buddhists who had accumulated more confidence in their ability to make independent decisions than was possible for the still half-schooled northerners of the 480's. In my hypothesis, the new fashion used at Yün-kang was borrowed ready-made from southern practise, and in the South, prior to the transfer, had been familiar for a century. Its origin there I link to the memorable reform in Buddhist imagery associated with the names of Tai K'uei and his son Yung, in the last decades of Eastern Chin and the first years of Sung. We know of the Tai style that its results were more persuasive and moving to a Chinese audience than ever before. The change is likely to have involved much the same sort of tactful alteration as was used by contemporary translators of the scriptures, replacing everything that was puzzling or disturbing in the Indian original by some native equivalent. The alien *samghāti*, so often criticized by the Chinese enemies of Buddhism as barbaric or immodest, may very well have been the first problem overcome by the Nanking masters.⁴⁸⁾

The likelihood of this proposal is to some extent strengthened by visible evidence. A number of bronze mirrors of south Chinese workmanship, which include Buddhist figures in their decorative repertory, have been found in Japanese tombs of the Yamato age. The three types represented all stem from designs that had been created by the end of Han. In the simplest and presumably earliest, the miniature, squatting Buddhas are clearly derived from western models. In the most elaborate, which the expert Mizuno has recently assigned to the period around A. D. 400, the standing Bodhisattva figures wear robes and scarves which are much more like those of Cave VI than any earlier forms known in the North.⁴⁹⁾ The flaring, bell-shaped skirt which is a key characteristic may well represent an inheritance from pre-Buddhist tradition in China. Han artists had loved to emphasize the long sweep of a trailing robe. When they turned to the very rare problem of the motionless, frontal figure, it was natural that the trailing line should be borrowed and used symmetrically. An example dating probably from the third century is the drawing of the Chou child-king Ch'eng, on a wall of the tomb at I-nan in Shantung.⁵⁰⁾

I shall describe below three aspects of the historical situation that seem to me to have made this iconographic borrowing possible, in the order of their proximity to the artistic event at Yün-kang.

In the first place it is clear that the hostility toward the southern regime that

had prevailed during the reign of T'ai Wu Ti was rapidly softened under his successors. Much of the credit for this relaxation must be given to the Buddhist tutors who so powerfully affected the imaginations of the two emperors Kao Tsung (r. 452—465) and Hsien Tsu (r. 465—471). The latter, indeed, was in one aspect of his life the most otherworldly of all the Northern Wei line, well versed in Buddhist literature and fond of inviting learned monks into the palace to discuss theological problems with him. He left the throne as a youth of seventeen to seek salvation in a monastery erected for his use in the palace park.⁵¹⁾ For those interested in heredity it is at least curious to note that his mother, Lady Li, was a south Chinese girl, the daughter of a Sung grand warden, who had been swept up by T'ai Wu Ti's great raid in 450.⁵²⁾ All the empress-mothers before her had been barbarians of various breeds or daughters of the great, partially barbarized Chinese clans of the North.

At the secular level the rapid humanization of Wei standards after 452 must have been the result of the increasing importance granted to north Chinese in the imperial government: their greater numbers, their rise into the higher levels of the bureaucracy, and the consolidation of their learning and idealism through a better organized system of Confucian education.

The event of greatest cultural importance for the future of the Wei empire in the decades following T'ai Wu Ti's death was certainly its acquisition in 466—469 of the whole northeast portion of the Sung domain, covering modern Shantung and northern Kiangsu and Anhui. This region had kept through earlier disorders much of the cultural preeminence it had won in late Chou, as the seat of the famous feudal states of Ch'i, Sung, and Lu and the eastern reaches of Ch'u. Its northern, Shantung portion had been recaptured for the South from a local Mu-jung regime in 409—410 by Liu Yü, the brilliant Chin general who was to become the founder of the Sung state.⁵³⁾ Its southern half was dominated by a great stronghold with a long history of its own, P'eng-ch'eng (the modern Hsü-chou-fu in Kiangsu). Under the Sung dynasty this city won new importance as the home of the Liu clan to which the founder belonged. It was frequently the administrative residence for princes of the blood serving in the area as governors and commanders-in-chief. During the spectacular Wei march to the Yangtse in 450 it was briefly threatened by the main corps of the northern army under T'ai Wu Ti himself, but was almost at once bypassed. Its defenders at that time were headed by two Liu princes, one the local governor, the other the commander of a reinforcing column. The Wei history records, with a vivid completeness reminiscent of Froissart, the verbal passages between their spokesman and the north Chinese Wei herald, a long duel of mock courtesy, boasting, and threats.⁵⁴⁾

All of the immense wealth, power, and prestige gained by the Sung empire from this northeastern region was lost in a few months by a chain of disgraceful events originating at the Nanking court. The South had been shockingly misgoverned ever since the murder of the old Emperor Wen in 454. The boy-prince who was placed on the throne by a court cabal in 464 behaved with such extreme cruelty and folly that he in turn was murdered within the year. In the confusion that

followed, the throne was seized and held by an uncle who became the Emperor Ming (r. 465—472). Outlying provinces held out against him for a time, in the northeast rallying around the dead ruler's younger brother. A brief, chaotic, and bitter civil war broke out, as the local governors and city wardens took one side or another.⁵⁵) Suddenly, when the pressure of the Nanking armies became too threatening, a group of the most powerful rebels sought safety by surrendering en masse to the Wei. The latter intervened with great speed and dramatic success, sending cavalry columns to reinforce the surrendered cities centering on P'eng-ch'eng. A few obstinately held strongholds required more serious attention from the main Wei armies, but isolation made their case hopeless; the last siege came to an end in the spring of 469.

As was usual in that age the people of the lost Sung domain met a wide variety of fates at the hands of their conquerors.⁵⁶) Those grandees who had led the surrender were welcomed with their families, clients, and aides, and treated with the generosity that the bargain required. Hsüeh An-tu, the erstwhile Governor of Hsü-chou who had invited the T'o-pa horsemen into P'eng-ch'eng, was given a dukedom, a fine house at the Wei capital, and a handsome income.⁵⁷) The Sung leaders who had resisted were handled more roughly; the most determined of all, Shen Wen-hsiu, who had held out for many months at Li-ch'eng in Shantung, was stripped of his official robes and flogged by order of the exasperated Wei commander. He was not executed, however, as a Chinese might well have been a century and a half before, in the first age of barbarian victories. The flogging, indeed, came to be held against the Wei general as an unchivalrous act; and when Shen's case was brought to the T'o-pa emperor, he was praised for his steadfast loyalty and given a post in the Wei government.⁵⁸)

Of the lesser gentry and commoners, those who had been taken forcibly were probably enslaved. The majority of the population must have been looted and then left alone. A very large number, however, were transported en masse to occupy a region near the Wei capital, which was given the name P'ing-ch'i (roughly "Pacified Shantung"). Many of these unfortunates died of hardship along the way or in the first hungry years of their residence in the North, as their predecessors from the conquered Kansu state had done two decades before. A few were lucky enough to find Chinese kinsmen in the Wei service who were willing to help them at once.⁵⁹) The lot of the P'ing-ch'i deportees as a whole must have been measurably lightened when they were all assigned to the service of the Buddhist Church, on petition by the Supervisor of Monks, T'an-yao — a circumstance particularly interesting for my present argument.⁶⁰) As individual talents began to be noticed among them, many of the educated southerners won a foothold on respectability by being employed as expert scribes, in close association with the monks who were editing or copying the sacred texts.

The case of T'an-yao's own youthful secretary and collaborator, Liu Hsün, illustrates one direction toward which such association might lead.⁶¹) He was first carried off as a boy slave into Hopei, and there was ransomed and given a scribe's training by a local rich man who bore his own surname. When it was discovered

that he had potentially useful relatives in the South he was moved to the deportees' center near the capital. His official biography tells nothing about his career there except that he was a fanatically industrious scholar, and that he was able to return to the South in the 483—493 era; perhaps the death of his great patron T'an-yao had lessened his chances for a career under the Wei. At the cultivated court of Southern Ch'i he won quick recognition, and he survived to become one of the foremost scholarly writers of early Liang, best known for his commentary on the South's most subtle and pungent epitome of intellectual sophistication, the *Shih Shuo Hsin Yü*.

Liu's value for the North, except as a youthful prodigy, was thus lost; but a great many others with similar gifts and good fortune pursued their advantages in the Wei environment to one sort or another of illustrious conclusion. Two of the most notable were members of the renowned Ts'ui clan, which furnished many political and intellectual leaders to both North and South throughout the Six Dynasties period.⁶²) Very distantly related to the great Wei chancellor Ts'ui Hao, they were closer kin to one of the leading Sung renegade governors, Ts'ui Tao-ku.⁶³) Both of them were as boys transported from Shantung, began their lives in the North in great poverty, picked up extra money for their families by working as scribes, and eventually came to the notice of north Chinese officials who recognized their possibilities and launched their careers in the Wei hierarchy. The two became leading figures at the strongly Sinicized court of the early sixth century, and there demonstrated the virtues of practical Confucianism at its best. The eminence they reached is illustrated by two similar anecdotes in their biographies, which record in the most striking fashion the altered balance of prestige between Chinese and T'o-pa at Lo-yang. Ts'ui Liang was commissioned by the Emperor Shih Tsung (r. 500—516) to investigate the misdeeds of his younger brother, Prince Huai, and rendered a verdict that resulted in the latter's long imprisonment. On his release the T'o-pa prince grossly insulted his erstwhile judge at a court banquet. The ruler intervened, called his brother a drunken boor, and forced him to apologize.⁶⁴) When the even more indispensable Ts'ui Kuang was appointed tutor to the crown prince in 513, the latter by imperial command had to prostrate himself twice in a ceremonial kowtow before his new master.⁶⁵)

I shall return in the next section to the general contributions made by the conquered Sung Northeast to the cultural development of the Wei. Here we must turn to what I take to have been the immediate relationship between the conquest and the changes in Buddhist art visible at Yün-kang.

By way of introduction it should be pointed out that the Wei Buddhists can have been by no means indifferent to the progress of the Church in the South, even at the time of T'an-yao's leadership when western models in art were unchallenged. Once more a single, happily preserved story throws light across a wide reach of contemporary thought and behavior. The southern Church, by its own account, had been vouchsafed a unique moment of contact with the supernatural world in 460, at a convocation held in a Nanking monastery to celebrate the completion of a Samantabhadra image vowed by the dowager empress.⁶⁶)

To the assembly had come a stranger "of most noble bearing", who when questioned had identified himself as a visitor from T'ien-an, Heavenly Peace. He had conversed briefly with the master of the maigre feast, and then had disappeared. He was taken, obviously, for an authentic emissary from some Paradise, like one of the countless roving Bodhisattvas described in the Mahāyāna scriptures. The official southern reaction was to make the hall that had been honored by his visit the center of a new, independent monastery called T'ien-an-ssu; at the secular level the district involved was raised one step in status. What is much more surprising is to find that the incident was officially recognized and honored in the enemy state of Wei. The first year of the devout boy emperor Hsien Tsu's reign, 466, was also entitled T'ien-an, with direct reference to the Nanking miracle; and it came to be believed that the choice of this name had some portentous connection with the "pacification" of P'eng-ch'eng the following year.

It is against this background of hope and credulity, the sense that the everyday world was surrounded by mysteries through which at any moment some blinding shaft of revelation might break, that the influence of the one or two miracle-working Sung images that form the crux of my present argument must be judged.

The most richly documented of these was an "eighteen-foot" gilded bronze statue made for the "Sung Royal Temple", Sung-wang-ssu, at P'eng-ch'eng by an old comrade-at-arms of the dynasty's founder, Wang Chung-te, who was Governor of Hsü-chou from 432 until his death in 438.⁶⁷) This figure, which may very well have been made as a sign of special devotion to the founder's memory, is said to have been "the most excellent ever done in the South in the dignity and beauty of its bodily form". Most probably it continued the stylistic innovations that had been given authority by the genius of Tai K'uei. It may even have been a work by the son, Yung, "whose images, with those of his father, were so numerous and were scattered in so many temples that it would be impossible to record them all fully".⁶⁸) The P'eng-ch'eng Buddha had in addition to its man-made beauty a gift of warning prophecy, of a type fairly familiar in the South. Whenever an enemy invasion was imminent or "some calamity threatened the priesthood, it would all of a sudden break out into a sweat to an amount that revealed the gravity of the danger . . ."

With P'eng-ch'eng the statue passed into Wei hands in 467, and so its most notable performance of all was carried out under northern eyes. In 479 and 480 the Nanking coup d'état that seated the new dynasty of Southern Ch'i led to outbreaks of violence in the east: an attempted Wei punitive expedition against the usurper, and counter-moves of rebellion in Shantung, stimulated by southern agents. The P'eng-ch'eng Buddha sweated several times during this period. When a group of Buddhist monks became involved in the fighting and were threatened with mass execution by the T'o-pa authorities, it began an outpouring of sweat that soaked the floor about it and could not be dried by any means. At last the T'o-pa prince who was governor of Hsü-chou promised with every sign of deep piety that the monks would be spared. The image responded by drying under his hand.

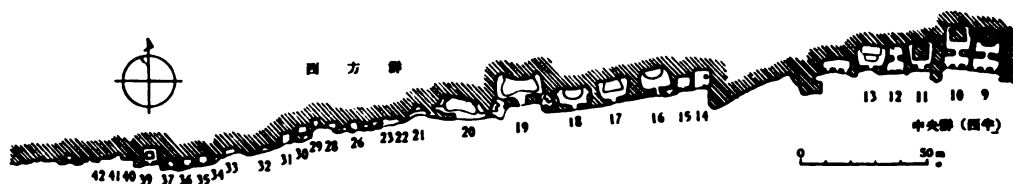
The veracity of this tale is not beyond attack, since it is known only as one of a collection of similar marvels reported by the credulous and imaginative mid seventh century monk-historian Tao-hsüan. On the other hand at least its general outlines are corroborated by a very different authority. The original sweatings found no place in the Wei history, since they belonged to none of the categories normally considered worthy of official record. The miracle recurred later, however, amid circumstances that demanded historical notice. In 495, when the Wei Emperor Kao Tsu himself came to P'eng-ch'eng during his abortive invasion of the South, the district authorities reported that "the eighteen-foot bronze image sweated [until the moisture] ran along the floor".⁶⁹)

To be sure, it is hard to know how widely and rapidly the prestige of the P'eng-ch'eng colossus may have spread. We do know that an earlier and much less remarkable image was taken with the utmost seriousness at the Wei court. It won, indeed, the almost unique honor of being made the subject of an imperial proclamation of the early 470's, quoted in the history's special chapter on Buddhism.⁷⁰) The text begins with a pious truism: "When faith is real the divine response is far-reaching. When acts are performed with sincerity their influence is profound." The writer cites instances of the mysterious changes of form that had occurred in earlier, non-Buddhist ages, and then comes to his point:

"In Tung-p'ing Commandery in Chi-chou [i. e. northwest Shantung] a miracle-working image has been emitting light, and has changed its color to that of gilded bronze. This is an extraordinary happening, surpassing anything in the past, and glorious for the wondrous Dharma and its principles in our own time. The authorities concerned and the Supervisor of Monks, T'an-yao, are to see to it that the province dispatches this image to the capital, so that clerics and laity alike may gaze on the likeness of Absolute Reality. A general proclamation shall be made throughout the empire, so that all may hear and know."

There are at least good grounds for supposing that the news of a statue so much more spectacular than this in its miracle-working power, with the added assets of great size, exceptional beauty, and a most strategic location, would have spread with even greater effect among the devout Buddhists of the North. Though the South had been blessed by a variety of miraculous images at least since the early fourth century,⁷¹) the Wei seem to have been able to claim none prior to the incident in Chi-chou, and must have felt keenly their lack of any such signs of divine favor. The P'eng-ch'eng Buddha was not the subject of an imperial proclamation, but a great deal that was of central importance to Wei Buddhism — most of the facts connected with the excavations at Yün-kang and Lung-men, for example — took place under the same conditions. The exceptional notice granted the Chi-chou figure was very likely a result of the intense piety of the priest-emperor Hsien Tsu's last years.

I have spoken of "one or two" miracle-working Sung images because Tao-hsüan's early T'ang collection includes another and even more detailed story linking a P'eng-ch'eng statue with the influence of Buddhist art on northern rulers. It is much harder to decide what to do with this evidence, since the tale as a whole



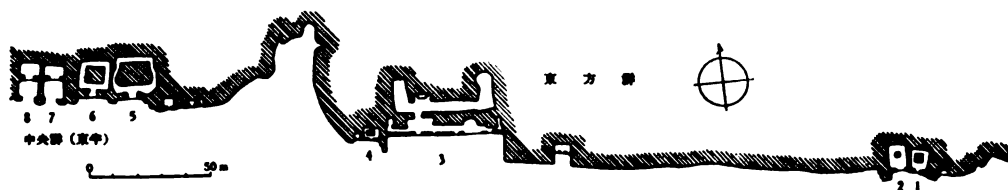
第六圖 (Fig. 6) 雲岡石窟配置圖

Yün-kang: ground-plan of western and central caves.

is preposterous. Its core may just possibly be sound; it speaks of a Hsü-chou image, installed in the early fifth century, of the type known as the Pensive Prince.⁷²⁾ The figure, known for its miraculous powers, is said to have been carried to the Wei capital to be worshipped by the Emperor Kao Tsu within his palace. Later it was transferred to the Northern Ch'i capital by that dynasty's priest-ridden last ruler. Tao-hsüan's informants had told him that at the mid seventh century it was still there, having survived both the Northern Chou persecution and the methodical destruction of the city by the Sui founder. We do know that iconographical type was prevalent at Yün-kang (though at a secondary level in the pantheon), and that it came back into independent importance under the Northern Ch'i. If there is any truth in the story, it is unlikely to have any close relationship to my thesis, since virtually all known versions of the Pensive Prince type are predominantly western in style. The most that may be garnered is a reiteration of the importance that a P'eng-ch'eng origin may have had for Wei worshippers.

Elsewhere I have suggested that two unprecedented feats of craftsmanship recorded in the Wei history, for the year 467 or soon thereafter — the erection of two lofty pagodas, one of wood in seven storeys and the other of stone in three — are likely to have been due to the rapid employment of expert carpenters and masons from the newly conquered East.⁷³⁾ We know from southern eye-witnesses that the T'o-pa before this time had been noticeably timid in their tower building. By a happy chance the Wei history reveals that the Shantung area possessed in this same period a famous seven-storey pagoda, which must have been exceptional even under the Sung.⁷⁴⁾

The final clause in my hypothesis has to do with the points at which the new, presumably south Chinese style was introduced into the Yün-kang cave sequence. The major cave-temples there may be divided into three types (text figure above). Two are almost unquestionably imperial. The colossal niches XVI—XX were probably excavated on behalf of five T'o-pa emperors of the past.⁷⁵⁾ The paired chamber-shrines VII—VIII and IX—X must have been dedicated to imperial parents, to mothers as well as fathers. Nothing in the scanty Yün-kang records supports this assumption, but excellent corroboration is provided by the first phase of imperial work at Lung-men: the Wei history quotes a command of the newly throned Shih Tsung in the first years of the sixth century, ordering that two caves should be made in memory of his parents, Kao Tsu and the latter's fourth



Yün-kang: ground-plan of eastern caves.

empress, Lady Kao, "taking as a model the rock-cut caves of Ling-yen-ssu [i. e. Yün-kang] at the former capital".⁷⁶⁾

It is most natural to assume that of the nearly identical Yün-kang pairs, VII and VIII were dedicated to the Emperor Kao Tsung, or Wen Ch'eng Ti, and his consort the Honan beauty Lady Li, after that ruler's death in 465;⁷⁷⁾ and that IX and X should be named after Hsien Tsu, or Hsien Wen Ti, and *his* Lady Li from Hopei, and dated after 476.⁷⁸⁾ Cave XII, which in a more knowing way closely follows the salient features of both the earlier pairs, is likely to have been opened on behalf of the ruling Emperor Kao Tsu during his boyhood.⁷⁹⁾ There too the Lung-men record provides corroboration: a decade after the first command a third cave was commissioned, by the petition of a high minister, for the sake of the also youthful Shih Tsung. In these two last cases one may assume that no twin cave was designed because there was as yet no formally designated empress-mother. Kao Tsu's first heir, the later disgraced Prince Hsün, was born in 483, but was not recognized as crown prince ahead of his five brothers until 493. Shih Tsung's single son, the future Su Tsung, was born in 510 and given the status of heir in 512.

Four of the Yün-kang caves in which the new, Sinicizing fashion was introduced, VI, I—II, and XI, all resemble the imperial parent design in being excavated as squared-off chambers. Though differing considerably from each other they all possess the common feature, unknown in the imperial group, of a central, rock-cut pagoda, with images on each of its four sides, in addition to the main, larger deity or assemblage against the rear wall. The most elaborate, VI, is also the richest and most varied in decoration of all the Yün-kang caves.⁸⁰⁾ In a partial sense it forms a pair with the fifth major excavation that shows the new style. The closely adjacent Cave V is totally unlike it in interior design, being instead a great niche enclosing a single seated Buddha, very much in the manner of the imperial five.⁸¹⁾ At the same time V and VI share a common facade; they were clearly laid out in relation to each other and were worked on at approximately the same time.

I believe, to begin with, that these last two represent the intense ambition and aggressiveness, and probably also the resentful malice, of the Dowager Empress Wen Ming, Lady Feng; who as the widow of Kao Tsung assumed constantly increasing powers, until with the death of Hsien Tsu in 476 she emerged as virtual dictator.⁸²⁾ Cave VI I see as her own, designed to demonstrate her unique position by the same sort of over-whelming display of power and wealth that began to take form, from 481 on, in her mausoleum and private temple on Mount Fang, on the

opposite side of the capital city. Cave V I think was dedicated in memory of her father, Lang.

Feng Lang was a survivor of the Chinese house that a generation earlier had succeeded in establishing a short-lived principality in southern Manchuria, the Northern Yen (409—36). His immediate forebears had served the famous Hsien-pi clan of Mu-jung in the final years of its division and decline.⁸³) The family's political importance was established by an uncle, Po, who through a successful coup d'état was able to declare himself king of Yen. Until his death in 430 the new state seems to have been well governed, secure, and prosperous. Friendly relations were established with the Juan-juan nomad empire to the northwest, and by sea with a Chinese governor in Shantung. The T'o-pa threat was held off by strong border defenses. Internally there was at least a show of the Confucian idealism proper to a civilized realm. The aged and needy were sought out and given relief; farming and sericulture were encouraged; a National College was established in the capital, with a staff of Confucian scholars. All of this is described with interest and sympathy in the Chin history, since the Feng regime was Chinese and a potential ally. In the Wei history it is dismissed much more curtly. Interestingly enough the two accounts contain a good many identical phrases; presumably the northern historian Wei Shou knew the Chin version and used it for his own purposes, omitting everything that presented the enemy's case in too favorable a light.⁸⁴)

Among the statements found only in the Chin history, one is of the highest interest. The Feng family claimed an extraordinary ancestry: they called themselves the descendants of a great warrior of the Chou period, Wan of Pi. The latter is mentioned in a well-known passage of the *Tso Chuan* for the year 660 B. C.⁸⁵) For his aid in the great victories just won by his overlord, the Duke of Chin, he was named the latter's viceroy in the newly conquered state of Wei — the state from which the T'o-pa were to take the title of *their* dynasty a thousand years later. Though himself no longer noble, Wan is said to have been a distant descendant of the first duke of the small Pi state in Shensi, the fifteenth son of King Wen of the Chou. In amplifying the record of his triumph, the *Tso* quotes two prophecies made by diviners of the time. One stated that "the descendants of Wan of Pi are sure to be great. *Wan* — ten thousand — is the number of abundance, and *Wei* is a great name. These initial rewards reveal the beginning of some Heavenly design." The other, analysing a hexagram that Wan had cast, called it "the diagram for a duke or marquis. The posterity of such a duke or marquis are sure to return to such beginnings."

Wan's descendants did, in fact, give the land of Wei its ruling house for nearly four and a half centuries (the *Tso* for 492 B. C. records a later victory in which the memory of his feats was called up to encourage the Wei troops).⁸⁶) The Wei lords assumed the title and independent status of kings in the fourth century under the great Hui, the patron of Mencius; and though they fell more and more under the shadow of Ch'in, the state was not formally obliterated until 225.⁸⁷)

Feng Po's biography draws no link with the Wei feudal line except through the founder, Wan. It explains that his branch acquired its name through a "Feng

village" where the family estates were located; these were abandoned during the civil wars of the early fourth century A. D., when Po's grandfather sought refuge in the North.⁸⁸⁾

The historical importance of this claim lies not in its authenticity, but in the fact that it was made in all seriousness, and that it very likely was used to justify Po's seizure of power. His biography, indeed, uses the exact terminology of the *Tso Chuan* in referring to Wan's "descendants" (literally "afterwards") and "posterity" (literally "sons and grandsons"). In addition it records of Po's own childhood the kind of portents that traditionally were believed to indicate Heaven's approval of a ruler-to-be: over his parents' house the clouds were frequently seen to mount up in the form of palace towers; and once he dreamed that he saw the gates of Heaven open and a divine light stream out, to illumine his courtyard.

These auspicious beginnings were quickly cancelled out after Po's death. His younger brother Hung — Lady Feng's grandfather — carried out two of the manoeuvres best designed to destroy dynastic stability, first seizing the throne for himself and then setting aside his own first-born son in order to name a favorite's child as heir. The T'o-pa pressure now grew more menacing yearly. When Hung's obstinacy provoked a final offensive in 435, his armies were quickly smashed by a crack Wei general. With the aid of Korean reinforcements he was able to evacuate his capital city and march to a temporary refuge in the kingdom of Kokuli. There, in the midst of planning a further flight southward by sea, he was soon murdered by his erstwhile ally, the Kokuli king, acting under strong Wei pressure.

No historical evidence explains Feng Lang's success in extricating himself from this disaster. The Wei history does devote a paragraph to the case of his elder brother Ch'ung, the one-time crown prince of Yen, who after repudiation by King Hung was prudent enough to join the Wei camp; Lang and another surviving brother, Mo, may have been in his entourage. At the outset all three were generously rewarded. Ch'ung received a long string of Wei titles and was ennobled as Prince of Liao-hsi. Mo was named Duke of Lo-ling. Lang was made the governor of two important western provinces, and also received the rank of duke.⁸⁹⁾ His daughter was born at his administrative seat, Ch'ang-an, in 442. Unfortunately he was convicted of some unspecified offense — perhaps he was involved in one of the Shensi revolts that flared up in the years around 450 — and was executed. Presumably in the same period and for the same reason Duke Mo found it expedient to desert a Wei army and seek asylum among the Juan-juan in the north. Lang's small son Hsi was carried by a foster mother to a similar refuge in the land of the Tanguts to the west.

From this second period of catastrophe Lang's daughter was the first to recover. The initial stages of her career are almost completely unrecorded. Perhaps she was carried off to Tai as a bondservant, as happened at about the same time to her future rival, the south Chinese beauty, Lady Li. In the imperial palace, however, she had the luck to find an aunt highly placed among T'ai Wu Ti's concubines, whose love gave her a new security.⁹⁰⁾ Her long rise began in 454, when she was added to the harem of the new emperor, Kao Tsung. Her first politically decisive

act was carried out after the latter's death in 465, when she was twenty-three. In the interregnum before a new administration could be properly established, a T'o-pa relative, General I Hun, moved swiftly to seize dictatorial powers; within the year, the young widow organized a counter-cabal that contrived the usurper's execution. Her position under her stepson, the adolescent Hsien Tsu, was thereafter secure. She survived a grave palace scandal in 470, when the emperor uncovered her intrigue with a certain Li I, and had the man put to death. Six years later, when Hsien Tsu himself died, she was generally credited with his murder.

When she assumed the powers of a regent thereafter — being at the outset thirty-four years old, and having in her care as step-grandson a boy emperor of nine — the dowager showed herself capable, harsh, and extravagantly capricious. At the outset she settled old scores as quickly as possible. The impulses suggested by her choice of victims to execute are interesting. Her most obvious revenge was taken in 477 against the high minister Li Hsin, who had betrayed her lover seven years before.⁹¹) A more complex blend of jealousy and political shrewdness probably prompted her action in 478 against still another Li, Prince Hui, Kao Tsu's maternal grandfather.⁹²) His daughter, Hsien Tsu's only empress, had been removed as a potential antagonist in 469 by the operation of the ancient T'o-pa rule that the mother of a crown prince should after his nomination be killed. Prince Hui had won a blameless reputation in the Wei service, but he must have seemed to the dowager to personify both an ancient animosity and a continuing threat to her monopoly of the young Kao Tsu's filial affection. He was executed on suspicion of treason with all his sons and brothers who could be caught. Lady Feng's biography implies that this act of obliteration was totally successful by asserting that until her death in 490 Kao Tsu had no certain knowledge as to who his mother had been. The statement is inherently implausible, but at least testifies to the impression created by her despotic selfishness.

A punitive act closer to the core of my present argument was carried out in 479 against the governors of the same two provinces that a generation earlier had been administered by the dowager's luckless father. One of these, Mu-ch'en, was a T'o-pa prince of the blood, who in the year of Hsien Tsu's death had held one of the highest posts at court; the other was a member of a clan related to the ruling house, the Wei or Wei-ch'ih.⁹³) The charge against them, gross corruption, might at other times have been paid by banishment or degradation, often for only a brief interval. By the empress' decree, as if in atonement for Feng Lang's execution, they were given the death penalty.

Probably at the same period Lady Feng took conspicuous steps to rehabilitate her father's reputation. He was granted the posthumous rank of prime minister, and the honorific title of Prince Hsüan of Yen. A mortuary shrine was erected for him at Ch'ang-an, the scene of his disgrace.⁹⁴) A party of Chinese court officials was sent there to preside over the opening ceremonies and to erect a memorial stele with an inscribed eulogy; on their return all were ennobled.⁹⁵) Furthermore, as if to pay a more general tribute to the past, the empress marked the site of her family's one-time capital city in Jehol by a Buddhist pagoda, given the provoc-

ative title Ssu Yen, "in memory of Yen".⁹⁶) Two other monumental constructions of the same time, given titles beginning with the character *ssu*, may well have had in Lady Feng's mind a similar commemorative purpose.⁹⁷) Her first project on her favorite Mount Fang, a Buddhist temple begun in 479, bore the extraordinary name Ssu Yüan, "in memory of far away". The next year a palace hall was completed with the title Ssu I, which may by the same premise may have implied something like "in memory of my father's honorable conduct".

Lady Feng clearly had the best of reasons not to love or to feel any loyalty to the T'o-pa house. It is impossible to know how far her hopes may have carried. To judge from one of the lesser Wei biographies, she at one time had the young emperor temporarily placed under house arrest, and played with the idea of dethroning him.⁹⁸) It is conceivable that she dreamed of reenacting, under closely similar conditions, the process by which another empress-widow and her male relatives of the Wang family had absorbed all real power, and finally the throne itself, at the end of Western Han.⁹⁹) If so, she must have realized in a few years her fatal weakness: there was no one in her family remotely like Wang Mang. Her elder brother Hsi, whose childhood had been spent as a refugee among the Tanguts, seems to have been an aimiable, self-indulgent man quite lacking in political ambitions.¹⁰⁰) When the empress began sharing her new dignities with him, indeed, his rapid rise had the unusual effect of making him apprehensive. He secured a transfer from the jealous, intrigue-ridden court to a quiet provincial governorship; and had there a career distinguished only by his recklessly extravagant patronage of the Buddhist Church. His two sons were handsome court nonentities. With the two daughters Lady Feng was fatally unlucky. Though she introduced them into the imperial harem, they were too young to become consorts during her lifetime. When they did so in the 490's, neither produced an heir. In addition the younger sister behaved so outrageously as an imperial favorite that she destroyed both herself and all further chances of her family for preferment.

The excavations at Yün-kang that I have attributed to Lady Feng seem to me to fit in very well with her recorded acts of retribution in her early years as regent. One can imagine her malicious pleasure in outdoing the grandeur of the T'o-pa memorial temples at their own chosen site. Her splendid personal shrine, Cave VI, must have been deliberately crowded against the much more modest pair, VII and VIII, that had been dedicated ten or fifteen years earlier to her husband and her rival, the first Lady Li. As for the adjacent Cave V, laid out in honor of her father, it can hardly be an accident that its totally different niche form was excavated as a modernized replica — at full size — of the imperial design that had been used for the five T'o-pa forebears. The Cave V Buddha has its hands folded in the *dhyāna mudrā*, like that of Cave XX. I assign the latter to the so-called Kung Tsung, the unfortunate crown prince whom T'ai Wu Ti disposed of in a fit of anger; the argument will be presented below.¹⁰¹) If my theory is correct, the dowager may have contrived thereby one more ironic parallel, linking two potential rulers who were unjustly done to death by the same tyrant whose armies had destroyed the kingdom of Yen.

For the two caves I and II, smaller and simpler but still of impressive dimensions, a more surprising explanation may be proposed. The two are almost identical twins, like those of the imperial group, and so suggest the father-and-mother theme. They are at the same time unusual in design, by virtue of their fairly realistic central pagodas; and are located in marked isolation, at the far east end of the whole Yün-kang complex. I am inclined to believe that they were executed for an imperial purpose, but not for the T'o-pa house; that they commemorate, instead, the old Sung Emperor Wen, murdered in 454, and his queen. Two historical factors lend this theory whatever credibility it may achieve. A plausible donor, in the first place, existed in the person of the emperor's ninth son, Liu Ch'ang (436—97), who when the throne was given to his murderous nephew fled precipitately in 465 to seek sanctuary with the Wei.¹⁰²) To the northern policymakers his political value as a puppet must have been obvious from the start. He was given three imperial princesses in succession as wives, and the suggestive title Prince of Sung. He served the Wei, ineffectively as a general commanding operations against the Southern Ch'i, and more to the purpose as an expert adviser on court ceremonial to the young Kao Tsu. He was an odd individual, given to fits of almost insane violence when angered, and likely to behave among his peers with the boisterous rudeness of a child. Whether sincerely or by design, he dramatised his sorrow for his loss and for the plight of his country by wearing mourning dress for years after his arrival in the North, and by public weeping.

If the Prince of Sung was encouraged by the T'o-pa regime to dedicate an elaborate family memorial within their own preserve at Yün-kang, the occasion was probably the Southern Ch'i coup d'état of 479, which temporarily aroused Wei hopes of another successful intervention in a civil war. The old dream of conquest was revived, under the guise of a righteous restoration of the Sung house. If it had succeeded, Liu Ch'ang might well have become a Wei viceroy with the paper title of emperor (like the princes of the Hsiao line who were used in the next century by the Northern Chou to ornament their hold on the middle South).

The problem of Cave XI is the most difficult to decipher, since the things that may be said about it are so confusingly varied. The Japanese, who know the site best, believe that it was begun "not much earlier than 483" in imitation of the central shaft formula of Cave VI.¹⁰³) On the other hand the shaft in XI is very strange in design, and is embellished with sculpture of the type common from the 490's on, made more difficult to judge by coarse modern restorations. It is located so close to XII that one might suppose the space should have been preempted for some future empress-mother; yet it contains among a hodgepodge of small, irregularly placed reliefs, one dated 483 with the names of fifty-four donors, none persons of any consequence.¹⁰⁴) This last is of positive value at least in showing small deities still carved in the traditional westernizing style. One might imagine, romantically, that the dowager empress had the shrine opened and roughly blocked out around a central shaft intended to recall that of Cave VI — her own hallmark — to symbolize her intention to impose a Feng daughter on the emperor; two of her nieces did become empresses in the 490's, as we have seen. It is hard to believe,

however, that she would have abandoned her purpose simply because Kao Tsu had his first male child by another consort in 483. Perhaps for some other reason her mind changed in or around that year, and the cave was made available for small-scale donations by clients and minor relatives of the Feng family.

Much the same sort of uncertainty surrounds Cave XIII, an excavation of the imperial niche type enclosing a crosslegged Maitreya. Some of the sculptures here are still in the westernizing manner, and so suggest that the work was begun early in the regency period. More images show the new fashion: particularly a fine row of the Seven Buddhas, strikingly like the one in XI.¹⁰⁵) XI and XIII enclose the presumably imperial XII, which I have linked with the boy Kao Tsu, so tightly, and so overshadow it by their greater size that one is tempted to explain both as projects of the Feng family. The male-ruler tradition followed in XIII would in that case be best applicable to the dowager's brother Hsi, who by the beginning of Kao Tsu's reign had already been made a prince and had acquired a T'o-pa princess for his wife. Hsi's biography both shows that he was distinguished enough to be permitted a cave-temple at this nearly imperial scale, and offers hints as to why the work was never carried through in accordance with a pre-conceived design. As we have seen, his prudence and lack of ambition led him to secure a transfer to less conspicuous duties away from the capital, soon after his sister's dictatorship began. By the same token, the extraordinary number of his private temple projects elsewhere — he is said to have built local monasteries in seventy-two of the districts under his jurisdiction — may well have prevented his concentrating either money or attention on the Yün-kang cave.

An attempt must be made, finally, to explain the intrusion of the new fashion into the imperial niche series, in the carving of the colossus of Cave XVI. It has seemed reasonable to identify the persons commemorated in the great row of five adjacent caves by reference to the imperial order recorded for 454, asking for five bronze figures of Śākyamuni, to be ranged in a metropolitan temple "on behalf of the five emperors from T'ai Tsu on".¹⁰⁶) Cave XVI may naturally be assigned by this analogy to T'ai Tsu. The identity of the ancestor so named, however, is not clear. In the long familiar T'o-pa chronological table, the "Grand Ancestor" is the ruler who first formally adopted the attributes of empire in 386, Tao Wu Ti, or T'o-pa Kuei. During the latter's reign, however, in 398, quite another "T'ai Tsu" was named to head the dynastic line, the early fourth century khan Yü-lü, or P'ing Wen Ti. This individual's career was in fact far from distinguished: though of T'o-pa stock he was technically a usurper, and was murdered in the fifth year of his reign by the jealous empress dowager.¹⁰⁷) When the Wei began to be anxious to legitimize their status as a Chinese empire, Yü-lü's chronological position suddenly became important. He had been the T'o-pa ruler when the Chin dynasty collapsed at Ch'ang-an and Lo-yang; and since the Wei refused to recognize either the continuation of Chin rule in the South or their own barbarian rivals in the North, he became the link through whom the "Mandate of Heaven" could be claimed for their own line.

This first "T'ai Tsu" retained his position in the T'o-pa ancestral ceremonies

until 491, when he was demoted by the then emperor in favor of the much more successful Tao Wu Ti.¹⁰⁸) If Cave XVI was opened in his memory, its present curious condition may perhaps be explained by this edict. The Buddha figure is both markedly later in style than the other colossi, and as the Japanese have observed, has an odd look of diminution in spite of its great dimensions.¹⁰⁹) In the T'o-pa cult the first result of the 491 decree was the removal of the old khan's tablet from the Grand Ancestral Shrine. Nothing so drastic could have occurred at Yün-kang; but perhaps the demotion was at once revealed and tactfully glossed over by re-cutting the Buddha at a noticeably smaller scale, in the modern fashion of the day.¹¹⁰)

- √ It may be argued, at any rate, that the new, Sinicizing style was introduced at Yün-kang at the most appropriate points: in two or more caves sponsored by a North Chinese empress-dictator who had the best of reasons for hostility to T'o-pa tradition; and in another pair which may have been dedicated on behalf of a South Chinese emperor and his queen. As to the date of the innovation, one can say only that what scraps of evidence exist point to the early 480's. To judge by the record of imperial visits, Lady Feng's purposes were satisfied by 483.

Whether or not the fact had any actual relevance at the time, it may be pointed out that diplomatic relations with the West virtually ceased in the late 470's, and became frequent again only at the outset of the sixth century.

The Southern Ch'i Style and its Continuation:

The improvement in relations between the northern and southern empires came to a head in the 480's and 490's, after the Wei hopes of overturning the new Southern Ch'i regime had been quickly extinguished. The North was governed first by a Chinese empress dowager, and then by a young emperor, Kao Tsu, who carried his admiration for Chinese ways to the point of fanaticism. Under such circumstances the steadily increasing importance of Chinese personnel was accelerated, both in the civil government and in the army. A Chinese scholar from the northwest, for example, Li Ch'ung, rose to be one of Kao Tsu's few fully trusted advisers, and proved the strength of his Confucian training by daring to criticize even the ruler's most cherished plans.¹¹¹) Another from southern Hopei, Sung Pien, won an even closer tie by his sympathy with the emperor's aspirations. At the end of a distinguished career he was one of the handful of intimates who were admitted to Kao Tsu's sick-bed in his last illness, and by the latter's will was named to the council of regents.¹¹²)

The first-generation subjects from Shantung and the P'eng-ch'eng region made their influence important in a variety of ways. The two Ts'ui cousins, Liang and Kuang, were already admired and given important functions by the 490's; Kao Tsu found Kuang's talents "as torrential as the Yellow River in its eastward flow", and made the other a top-level planner for the transfer of his capital to Lo-yang.¹¹³) At an entirely different level, the old Sung renegade Pi Chung-ching, ending his days as a generously-endowed Wei duke, probably taught the northerners who knew him a vivid lesson in the physical enjoyments of life. He was a gourmet,

delighting in delicacies from afar, a spirited rider, and a most lusty bedfellow. T'o-pa tastes in his last years had become so catholic that when Kao Tsu gave one of his special entertainments for elderly gentlemen, the duke was greeted with as much affectionate attention as was the utterly different old hero-scholar, Kao Yün.¹¹⁴⁾

The emperor showed in several ways his appreciation of the cultural riches of the lately acquired eastern districts. One revealing incident records his hot anger at finding that one of his appointees to the Hsü-chou governorship had pulled down a number of the P'eng-ch'eng towers on the ground that the city looked too rich.¹¹⁵⁾ Again, we are told that when a T'o-pa prince Chien "at the outset of the cultural revolution served as governor of Ch'i-chou [in Shantung], he assisted the new policy by making a collection of the traditional customs and rules of behavior, in all their brilliance and correctness. When Kao Tsu inspected the report, he sighed for a long time over their beauty" and said to his attendants: "If all our provincial governors were able to reform their people's manners in this fashion, the task would be easy." He issued a laudatory proclamation, directing that the report be distributed throughout the realm, just as Chien had submitted it."¹¹⁶⁾

The pressure of direct southern influence which is my chief concern in this paper was exercised at this time first by frequent diplomatic intercourse, and later by the arrival of highly placed Ch'i refugees. In nine years of the period between 483 and 494 embassies were exchanged at a high level of official courtesy, and with at least a show of cordiality. Whatever latent hostility remained was translated into a subtler competition, in which birth, good breeding, scholarship, and literary facility were the most important counters. The major participants were of course all Chinese. The Wei, for their part, chose their representatives with great care to meet the new challenge, and very likely showed almost as much concern for the complementary problem of selecting hosts in their own capital to entertain the Ch'i parties.¹¹⁷⁾ Passages in both northern and southern biographies help to build up a picture of the situation. We hear Kao Tsu, for example, giving anxious advice in 494 to a deputy as to how best to back up his senior (a member of the long distinguished Lu clan of Hopei, whose public service had begun under the Chin empire):¹¹⁸⁾

"Lu Ch'ang is a generous and easy-going gentleman [*chün-tzu*], but has little talent for literature. If your host orders you to compose poems, you yourself must comply to the best of your knowledge without blaming Ch'ang if he fails. After all, the role of an envoy is chiefly to spread harmony. Do not indulge, therefore, in any bragging matches, or show by your expressions anything that might detract from your mission."

To make up for their relative lack of social finesse, the Wei seem to have stressed two directions in which they could at least hold their own. They showed themselves as sticklers for the full observance of Confucian discipline, particularly in regard to mourning. The Honan scholar Li Piao, who proved so successful as an intermediary that he was sent six times to the Ch'i court, made a great show in 492

of carrying the mourning period for the empress dowager even beyond the canonical "three years"; on one occasion going so far as to ask that the musicians provided for a banquet in his honor be withdrawn.¹¹⁹) Similarly, when the Ch'i ruler sent a mission in 491 to offer condolences after the empress' death, the northerners by advice of Li Ch'ung refused to receive them officially until they had changed their ordinary red court dress into the white of mourning.¹²⁰)

On the other hand, the wealth of the T'o-pa regime permitted it to make a dazzling show on festive occasions. A vivid hint that the diplomatic exchanges might have a secondary, economic purpose is conveyed by a passage in the biography of another scion of a great northern clan, Li An-shih. His scholarship, good looks, and social ease won him an appointment as host to the Ch'i mission of 483. Thereafter we read:¹²¹)

"When embassies from the South arrived it was the custom to withdraw valuable objects from the Treasury and have them offered as presents by handsome, well-dressed members of the rich, metropolitan families, so as to tempt the envoys to engage in trade. [On this occasion when the southerners] visited the gold and jade shops and asked about prices, [their leader] remarked: 'Gold and jade are so very cheap here in the North that they must come from your own mountains and streams.' An-shih answered: 'Our saintly dynasty lays so little store by gold and jade that they are valued as cheaply as tiles.'"

✓ As we shall see below, many citations from the period of renewed North-South intercourse that began in 537 show that the northerners normally exploited to the full their opportunity to explore the Nanking markets and invest in luxury articles for resale after their return.¹²²) Very likely this privilege was already being exploited by both parties in the 480's and 490's, as a relief from the normal prohibition on trade between the rival empires.

The Nanking regime, pursuing its cultural advantage, is known to have selected as its emissaries scholars of outstanding ability. Two of these, Fan Chen and his cousin Yün, who came in 491 and 492, were impressive not only in their own right but also as representatives of the literary coterie assembled and supported by the South's most celebrated patron, the imperial prince Hsiao Tzu-liang.¹²³) Their coming doubtless set a new standard for the Wei literati, and even for the ruler himself. A revealing remark of Kao Tsu's shows him taking pride in the parallel between his assignment of a particularly gifted young assistant to his uncle, Prince Hsieh, and the Ch'i emperor's earlier grant to his son Tzu-liang of the brilliant southern scholar Wang Yung in the same capacity.¹²⁴) The last-named, incidentally, is the author of a memorial to the Ch'i throne in which the realities underlying all these fine words and courteous actions are clearly analysed. The occasion for his argument was the arrival of a Wei mission asking for a gift of books, and a preliminary Ch'i decision to refuse.¹²⁵) Yung characterized the Enemy unsparingly as a race "with human faces but bestial hearts, fierce, cruel, and violent, rebels at once against the rules of Heaven and the moral standards of Earth..." They are, however, dependent on their Chinese subjects, all the more so since their other frontiers on the west and the north are exposed to incessant nomad threats. Their

Chinese captives, though overwhelmed and subject to savage punishments, still preserve something of their inherited culture. Many of them have reached important positions in the Wei government. The names that Wang cites seem in some cases to be garbled, but one can recognize among them the empress dowager's brother, Feng Hsi, Ts'ui Kuang, and Li Ch'ung, as well as the less famous Yu Ming-ken.¹²⁶) To encourage the cultural aspirations of such men as these, to send them the great books of the past and copies of famous specimens of calligraphy, to expose them to the influence of beautiful music and architecture, proper dress and good manners, will move them deeply; so deeply that the habits of disloyalty that have hung over them like a sickness will be swept away — to the Ch'i empire's incalculable profit.

Wang Yung's biography in addition ascribes to the Wei envoys whom he officially entertained in 492 an almost fawning deference.¹²⁷) His skill as a writer had been recognized at the Nanking court the year before when he composed a preface to a group of verses improvised by courtiers at an entertainment in the imperial park. The senior Wei envoy had already heard of this feat in the North, and begged permission to see the composition. The junior — Kao Tsu's confidant, Sung Pien — added a piece of absurdly pedantic flattery: he found in the piece, he said, the same sort of confirmation of the Ch'i lord's success that the Han scholars of old had granted to *their* emperor, Wu Ti, on reading a classical prose-poem by Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju.

A cultural gift of the sort recommended in Wang's memorial, of crucial value for my argument, is documented in the biography of the Wei state architect Chiang Shao-yu, who came south with the mission of 491.¹²⁸) Chiang had begun his life under the Wei as a deportee from Shantung in the late 460's, reduced to such hardship that he was forced to serve for a time as a common soldier. He was given better employment first as a scribe, like many others, and then began to reveal an exceptional skill and inventiveness in drawing and stone-engraving. Most of the Wei literati who heard of him were at first unimpressed, because his family was unknown to them; but through the aid of his first great patrons, Kao Yün and Li Ch'ung, he was soon recognized as someone well above the craft level. His first important commission was the decoration of apartments in the palace. Next his combination of learning and artistic talent won him appointment to the commission that was to fix the forms of ceremonial court dress; there he had the opportunity of arguing with no less a rival authority than the exiled Sung prince, Liu Ch'ang. When Kao Tsu began to plan the rebuilding of his capital at Tai on a more splendid and authentically imperial scale, Chiang was sent to Lo-yang to survey the ruined third century palaces, as a preliminary search for authority. A further phase of study carried him to Nanking.

At the southern court, by a picturesque coincidence, Chiang was recognized by a maternal uncle, a Ts'ui, who guessed that he had been sent to copy the imperial city and palaces.¹²⁹) His relative complained testily to the Ch'i ruler: "By what right should a village of tent-dwelling yokels be permitted to imitate the celestial palaces?" The emperor, however, disagreed, for reasons of peace-time courtesy.

The mission was thus completed; not by Chiang alone, one may imagine, but by a whole team of previously disguised draftsmen and scribes, who recorded everything they saw that might prove useful in the North.

The written records of Chiang Shao-yu's career are tantalizingly vague. His biography does tell that after his return he was put in charge of the design of the imperial pleasure craft and of the lakeside buildings in the palace park: problems that suggest a strong indebtedness to southern experience in exploiting water for pleasure. Again, the great mid sixth century work on the topography and monuments of north China, the *Shui Ching Chu*, records in its description of the Tai palace the fact that the four walls of the Hall of Imperial Sincerity, [completed in 483], were covered with frescoes depicting the loyal and brave worthies of the past and inscriptions in their honor, by the hands of Chang Seng-ta and Chiang Shao-yu.¹³⁰) He is entered in *Li-tai Ming Hua Chi*, viii, as one of the three Northern Wei painters worthy to be remembered. His chief usefulness seems to have been as a supervising architect, however, and since he lived until 501 he must have contributed a great deal to the new capital at Lo-yang.

From the last year when embassies were exchanged, 494, the Ch'i throne fell into the hands of a succession of incompetents who quickly destroyed the dynasty's morale and security. The change had two effects that concern us directly. First, it fanned to a feverish heat the fanatic Wei emperor's sense of mission and crisis. His long accumulated ambition to reunite "all under Heaven" in a new Golden Age, as a modern Yao or Shun, seemed at last on the brink of fulfilment. The final five years of his reign must have been dominated by a deep sense of emergency. The most sweeping measures had to be carried out at once, lest the unique chance be lost.¹³¹) As the great pattern took shape it brought first a grand mobilization for conquest, and then the fateful decision to transfer the capital hundreds of miles southward to Lo-yang. Its first unexpected by-product was probably the emperor's death, hastened by exhaustion, in 499 at the age of thirty-two.

The other effect was the arrival of refugees from the Nanking tyranny. The earliest and by far the most influential of these was Wang Su (464—501), who had served both the Ch'i Emperor Wu and the crown prince in a variety of secretarial posts, including that of deputy director of the Privy Library.¹³²) When his father and brothers were executed he fled north alone. Though he came unheralded and without credentials, he so impressed the Wei authorities that he soon won an interview with Kao Tsu, then in Honan preparing his grandiose schemes. Their first recorded conversation was a very practical one. Wang described the situation at the Ch'i court in detail, prophesied further calamities, and urged a major intervention by the Wei armies. The T'o-pa ruler was enchanted by both the substance and the manner of his speaking. They talked again and again, sitting informally together for hours at a time, while none ventured to interrupt. In due course Wang's loyalty and usefulness were proved in a variety of ways. He was given important commands against the southern armies (and in one victory was able to score a personal revenge by capturing the Ch'i general who had killed his father). His virtues made him eminently successful both as a courtier and as

a provincial governor. He was assigned an imperial princess as his wife; made close friends of all but one of the top-ranking T'o-pa princes; and won so completely the trust and affection of Kao Tsu that he was named one of the small group of regents who took control after the latter's death. On his own death two years later he was given a sumptuous funeral at state expense, and as a final compliment was assigned an unique tomb site: he was buried midway between the mounds of the recently deceased scholar-minister Li Ch'ung, and of the famous third century minister Tu Yü,¹³³⁾ "so that their spirits might enjoy each others' company". His immediate importance for our purpose lies in the fact that his expert acquaintance with the southern court and imperial tradition was invaluable in pushing the Wei cultural revolution a degree farther.¹³⁴⁾ His knowledge of the past was used to give a heightened authenticity to the new capital and palace under construction at Lo-yang. There, incidentally, he himself as donor contributed one of the first Buddhist temples to be founded in the city's environs, Cheng-chüeh-ssu.¹³⁵⁾

The last stage of Ch'i demoralization in 499—500, and the onset of the civil war that was to lead to the founding of the Liang dynasty in 502, dislodged from their allegiance to Nanking a number of important border districts. The most valuable centered on the Huai River stronghold of Shou-yang or Shou-ch'un (i. e. Shou-chou or Shou-hsien in modern Anhui). Large groups of southern leaders who had joined in the surrenders with their families and clients were rewarded by Wei titles and posts comparable to those they had lost.¹³⁶⁾ None of these played an outstanding role thereafter, but their addition to the higher levels of Wei society must have intensified the Chinese look of Lo-yang. A few details in their biographies are of special interest. The original leader of the surrender plot, P'ei Shu-yeh, carried out informal negotiations from Shou-yang with a neighboring governor across the frontier, Hsüeh Chen-tu, who a generation before had been one of the Sung renegades at P'eng-ch'eng.¹³⁷⁾ Hsüeh had been generously treated for thirty years, and had recently improved his status by a tactful show of enthusiasm for Kao Tsu's plan to move the capital. His letter to P'ei held out as a major inducement "the beauties of the cultural renaissance at the court".

The career of P'ei's nephew Chih, who carried out the actual betrayal, is remarkable as an extreme illustration of the confidence that a southerner so situated could feel at the Wei capital.¹³⁸⁾ He complained continually that he had not been treated as generously as Wang Su; he had been named marquis instead of receiving the dukedom originally offered to his uncle, and had failed of appointment to the Imperial Chancellery. His manner toward his fellow courtiers was habitually contemptuous, and he took no pains to hide his conviction that barbarians and Chinese could never meet on a cultural level. (It is only fair to add that he made himself so cordially disliked that in the end he was executed on a trumped-up charge of treason.)¹³⁹⁾

At the opposite extreme one might place the example of urbane living that was set for the Wei gentry by one of P'ei's subordinates, Hsia-hou T'ao-ch'ien.¹⁴⁰⁾ He too was disappointed to be named marquis instead of duke, but accepted the

reduction amiably. He loved conversation and feasting, and took pains to search out for his guests an inexhaustible supply of the capital's choicest viands. For his private amusement he had a park laid out on the river west of the city, with an artificial lake, orchards, and vegetable gardens. There he would retire from time to time with a dozen or so girl musicians, in whose performances he took an unending pleasure.

The son of another of P'ei's confederates, Wang Yu, brought to the North the opportunity to meet a painter — described as an expert copyist of Buddhist icons — who was also a gentleman and a scholar.¹⁴¹⁾

Something of the splendor of the new capital may be imagined through the descriptions of the major temples — many of them first erected as princely mansions — in the mid sixth century *Lo-yang Ch'ieh-lan Chi*.¹⁴²⁾ For a visual record of the artistic achievements of the time one must turn to its preserved works of Buddhist art, and particularly to the great cave-temple site of Lung-men. The most convincing demonstration of the progress made by Wei culture and art in the generation between the beginning of the reign of Kao Tsu and that of his son Shih Tsung may be seen in the contrast between the typical donor friezes of the middle period at Yün-kang and the two great Lung-men panels from the Pin-yang cave that show the emperor with his courtiers and ladies (fig. 4). The former are archaic processions of stiffly posed figures in T'o-pa jackets, distinguished as to sex only by minor details of costume. The Pin-yang panels record first of all the revolution in formal dress promulgated by Kao Tsu in 486; the imperial figure, which must be a posthumous, idealized portrait of Kao Tsu himself, wears the stately, voluminous robes and the headgear of a Chinese emperor.¹⁴³⁾ In addition the artistic factor is carried out with an unprecedented richness and cunning. The many figures, though shown in low relief with a marked respect for two-dimensionality, are subtly grouped so as to suggest relationships between real bodies. The difference in sex between the two parties is exploited so as to make each an epitome of Chinese ideals. The gentlemen are all dignified, elegant, and disciplined in their attitudes; the ladies are like a great flower garden full of exotic blooms. It is, I think, virtually impossible to explain these panels — which are so much like paintings in stone — except by some sort of direct contact with the luxuriant figure art of the southern court. They suggest the titles of southern paintings remembered or still treasured under the T'ang: the Sung artist Yin Ch'ang-sheng's "Imperial Relatives at the Southern Court", or in the Ch'i period, Liu Chen's "Court Officials" and "Ladies-in-waiting", and Mao Hui-yüan's "Celebrated Court Officials".¹⁴⁴⁾ The group of ladies recalls the reputations won by the Ch'i painters Hsieh Ho and Shen Ts'an in rendering elaborate clothes; most closely the former, who is said to have taken pains to keep abreast of all the latest court fashions in robes, make-up, and coiffures. As I have indicated elsewhere, I believe that the Pin-yang compositions — which are unique, and far superior to even the best of the other donor groups remaining from the period — must have been copied from lost southern paintings of high quality, which presumably were acquired either the embassy exchanges of the 490's or as part of the treasure-trove thrown open by

the surrender of Shou-ch'un in 500.¹⁴⁵) The Pin-yang cave is dated by Japanese archaeologists in the years following 505.¹⁴⁶)

At a much more typical level the change of styles may be seen in the images and particularly in the very low relief decorative motives that appear in the second phase of work in the Ku-yang cave, ascribed by the same authorities to the period ca. 508—11.¹⁴⁷) The Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, markedly flattened and elongated, with elaborately pleated and widely flaring skirts, show the characteristics that had been novel at Yün-kang, now intensified and enriched. The flying beings and the spurting aureole flames that seem painted on the Ku-yang walls, on the other hand, have left their clumsy Yün-kang prototypes almost unrecognizably far behind. Their closest earlier parallels, indeed, are not Buddhist at all, but the airy swiftness seen in the best Han inlaid bronzes and lacquer paintings. In one further respect the Ku-yang cave is still more unmistakably Chinese in the traditional sense, through the extraordinary emphasis given to inscriptions. The greater number of the individually donated reliefs are documented by inscribed records, with names and dates — a feature almost completely lacking at Yün-kang. For the most prominent inscriptions, identifying and separating the major niches, in the position which at Yün-kang would have been filled by a stylized pagoda, the Ku-yang designer provided rock-cut stelae with dragon tops: a theme purely Chinese secular in its connotations.

To explain the strongly Chinese flavor that is unmistakable at Lung-men it is not enough to speak merely of the general drift of Wei culture back toward a renaissance of Chinese values. One must, I believe, assume a wholesale appropriation of artistic ideas from the Southern Ch'i; perhaps also the participation of newly acquired craftsmen from the long important center, Shou-ch'un, a city so close both in the geographical and in the political senses to Nanking that it must have shared many of the capital's amenities.

By good fortune the Boston Museum of Fine Arts possesses a small stone sculpture inscribed with a Southern Ch'i date of 494, which suggests the kind of prototype that is likely to have been adopted in the early years of the Lo-yang period (fig. 5).¹⁴⁸) Several characteristics of the Buddha figure are noteworthy: the upper robe with its up-standing, kimono-like collar; the developed, though still moderate overhang of the skirt; the opposed, up-and-down positions of the hands, showing the *abhāya* and *vara mudrās*.¹⁴⁹) The big aureole, in emphasizing a broad band of flames and omitting any miniature figures or angels, departs radically from Yün-kang practise. In all these respects the miniature seated figure resembles fairly closely the colossal, and hence more richly detailed, Buddha of the Pin-yang cave (fig. 6). The two incised Bodhisattvas on the Boston stone, with their scarves crossing through circular clasps, are in most respects like those that flank the main Buddha of the Ku-yang cave. Their symmetrical, up-and-down hand positions recall those of the lesser Bodhisattva pairs in Pin-yang.

A second dated Southern Ch'i stone sculpture has been recently unearthed in the Szechwan district of Mou-hsien, and is now housed in the provincial museum at Ch'eng-tu.¹⁵⁰) Its pier-like form is used to display two figures of the Buddha

Amitāyus, one seated and the other (unfinished) standing; the inscribed date is 483. The well-preserved seated image is startlingly close to the Wei style of two decades or more later (fig. 7). Comparison with the Boston Buddha shows an important difference in the treatment of the skirt overhang. The latter figure continues the old Mathuran habit of revealing the right leg with its bared foot, and is designed, therefore, around a fundamental asymmetry. Its formula, more or less disguised by the multiplication of pleats and turns, is the one reproduced in the typical Northern Wei seated Buddha figures of Lung-men. The Amitāyus, in contrast, seems to preserve a memory of the symmetrical, late Gandharan scheme, in which the crossing legs are concealed by an apron-like cascade of the robe. The Chinese excavators who in recent years have collected some two hundred items of early Buddhist stone sculpture from the site of the ruined temple Wan-fo-ssu in Ch'engt'u, emphasize its strong local flavor, and its source in the tradition that had been first vigorously expressed in the Szechwan tomb art of later Han. If one accepted the skirt overhang of the Amitāyus as a southwest Chinese peculiarity, there would be no surprise in finding that it was almost entirely absent from the Wei capital style seen at Lung-men, but was occasionally present among works found in the northwest; for example at Mai-chi Shan, and on two Shensi stelae reproduced by Sirén.¹⁵¹) The Shensi-Szechwan highroad had been a familiar factor in Chinese history since late Chou. But the situation is more complex and interesting. The Amitāyus formula is also clearly the basis for the intricacy of the Buddha's skirt in the Tori style of Hōryūji. Presumably, therefore, it must have been an integral part of the metropolitan repertory practised around Nanking. The early Japanese style must have represented a long-delayed reappearance, made possible by the chain of diplomatic and religious contacts that linked the southern court to the Korean kingdom of Pekche, and thence to Japan.¹⁵²)

In this connection it is interesting to note that the Bodhisattvas incised on the Boston stele of 494 show another costume detail — the indication by parallel lines slanting across the chest, of an undergarment like that worn by the Buddha — which was apparently not imitated by the Wei craftsmen but passed eastward to Korea and Japan. It is a commonplace both in the Tori style figures and among the group of forty-eight bronzes in the imperial collection, ascribed variously to Korean or Japanese origins. The detail is clearly non-Indian, and must have been invented to satisfy one or both of two strong Chinese instincts: the prejudice against bared flesh, and the passion for symmetry.

Whatever changes may have been introduced into the Northern Wei style in its final thirty years must have at last been due solely to the initiative of the craftsmen working in the North. Fruitful contacts with the South ceased at the turn of the century. Throughout its splendid, spendthrift stay at Lo-yang, the T'o-pa regime maintained an official hostility to the Liang empire. The pattern of conquest first mapped out by Kao Tsu came to a disastrous end in 507 before the Huai River fortress of Chung-li.¹⁵³) There were thenceforth no more profitable transfers of territory, or flights of valuable refugees;¹⁵⁴) neither was there a comfortable peace, for the two states kept on bickering and raiding every year along

their borders. There were no formal exchanges of embassies. The earlier generation's show of chivalry was kept alive only by sporadic incidents: most often by the courteous treatment and frequent repatriation granted to captured Wei officers by the high-minded Emperor Wu. Trade existed, but at the level of smuggling. The border wardens who encouraged it for their personal profit were preached against, and if their offenses were flagrant might be impeached. I have found only one record of a legitimate bargain during the period, which may be cited as a tribute to one minor aspect of the South's continuing cultural leadership. The family of a Liang general who died during an unsuccessful defense of his city in 503 was able to recover his body five years later from the Wei in exchange for a troupe of girl musicians.¹⁵⁵⁾

If the Wei at Lo-yang showed symptoms of cultural saturation in their dealings with the Liang, they were even less receptive to fresh influences of any importance from the West. The diplomatic and trade relations which had largely lapsed during Kao Tsu's reign were renewed and greatly extended in the early years of his successor. To cite the same sort of examples as before, one may note that Persian missions came in 507, 517, 518, 521 and 522; the Hephthalites in 507, 509, 511, 512, 517, 518, 519, 524, 532 and 533; Kashmir in 502, 508 and 517; "Southern India" in 502, 503, 507, 508 and 514; Udyana in 502, 510, 511, 518 and 521; and Gandhāra in 507 and 511.¹⁵⁶⁾ A good many of these visitors are likely to have been Buddhist clerics. Great numbers of Western monks were lodged in the huge monasteries of Lo-yang; the largest of these, Yung-ning-ssu, is said to have been the depository for all the foreign images and scriptures brought to the capital.¹⁵⁷⁾ The influence of all this brisk intercourse on the Buddhist art of the period was negligible; the Chinese fashion was too strongly entrenched to yield either stylistic or iconographic territory.¹⁵⁸⁾

In view of the course of my argument it is a nice coincidence that the last able general on whom the harassed Wei court was able to rely in its final years of civil war was the one-time Southern Ch'i prince, Hsiao Pao-yin, who had fled North from the Liang coup in 501.¹⁵⁹⁾

The Later Liang Style and its Continuation:

The development of north Chinese Buddhist sculpture in the two generations between the east-west split of the T'o-pa empire in 534—35 and the Sui reunification of the 580's has been often described. While the process of change operated irregularly, two broad phases may be distinguished, corresponding roughly to the political circumstances of the time. In the first, much of the past survived — as it did at least nominally at the courts of Eastern Wei (534—50) and Western Wei (535—56). The acute tension seen in the most expertly executed works of the late Lo-yang style was relaxed. The jagged points of the skirt were rounded; the figures began to lose their bodiless look and to swell into bulkier silhouettes. In the second phase, corresponding to the emergence of new dynastic families, the Kao of Northern Ch'i (550—76) and the Yü-wen of Northern Chou (556—80), the artistic change was accelerated. The new ideal finally achieved was very different from the old

in its search for simplicity and three dimensionality. The whole process was broadly analogous to the evolution of French monumental architecture from around 1400 to 1550, from the diaphanous verticality of churches like St. Maclou in Rouen to the compact, earth-bound designs favored by the architects of Henri II. In both cases what began as a self-generated relaxation was later pushed to a new extreme by outside influences. The French experienced the over-whelming pressure of the Italian Renaissance; the north Chinese gave way before a complex of novel stylistic elements which — though less homogeneous — must all have been foreign and for the most part Indian. To cite merely an introductory example, the new Buddha type found widely through the North clearly owed its ponderous, forcefully modelled body and semi-transparent draperies to Gupta precedent. The accompanying circular halo, seen best in the rock-cut sculptures of Hsiang-t'ang Shan, continued in its form and luxuriant decoration the ideal reached in the preceding century by the sculptors of Sarnāth (fig. 12).

In trying to explain this second revolutionary change in north Chinese taste, one must begin with a geographical distinction. Both the Northeast and the Northwest were throughout most of their brief, tumultuous histories Buddhist. The great proscription carried out by the Chou Emperor Wu was enforced in his own domain only from 574 to 578, and in the then conquered territory of Ch'i for less than a year.¹⁶⁰) The recent rediscovery of the Kansu cave temples at Mai-chi Shan, and the increase of information about sixth century donations at Tun-huang show a strong persistence of the image-making tradition in the Northwest. Statues like the large, stone Kuan-yin at Minneapolis, dated in the last years of Chou rule, or the closely similar but more perfectly executed figure from the Ch'ang-an region at Boston, prove the sculptors at the Chou capital were capable of a remarkable mastery of technique and design.¹⁶¹) The Northeast, however, had the initial advantages of a very much larger population and a much greater wealth, many more cities and a higher percentage of educated gentry. Its monasteries were far more numerous and more generously endowed. The ruling house, which became more and more lavish in its patronage of the Church and of Buddhist art, set a precisely opposite example to that seen at Ch'ang-an, where economy was habitual and where indifference or mere tolerance finally degenerated into a fierce antipathy.

The last emperor of the Kao line poured wealth and man-power into gigantic works as ostentatious as the T'o-pa feats at Yün-kang and Lung-men. In the vicinity of his western stronghold, Chin-yang in Shansi, at the site still occupied by the relatively modest cave shrines of T'ien-lung-shan, he undertook the excavation of a huge image. The extravagance and cunning displayed in his metropolitan temples — described as if they were pleasure-palaces — were fabulous.¹⁶²) It is, again, at the cave site of Hsiang-t'ang Shan near the Ch'i capital, Yeh in northern Honan, that the potentialities of the new style are most richly and impressively preserved, at a level of interest far above that of the contemporary work in Kansu. Even the very incomplete information that can be assembled from the dedicatory inscriptions on preserved sculptures of the period indicates that the Buddhism of the Northeast was a good deal more lively and receptive to new ideas than that of

the Northwest. The latter group is conservative in iconography, stressing images of Śākyamuni far more often than any other. In the Eastern Wei and Ch'i series there is a much greater variety. There are more deities and more complex combinations. The order of popularity is strikingly novel, beginning with Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya. Vairocana — usually considered a T'ang innovation — appears as a close third; while Śākyamuni trails in fourth place.¹⁶³)

What can have been the avenue by which this resurgent Indian influence reached north China around the middle of the sixth century? Clearly it was not the old road across Central Asia by which earlier regimes had received their missionaries and traders. The late Northern Wei party headed by Sung Yün which successfully retraced the "silk road" in search of the Buddhist pilgrimage centers of northwest India, did so at almost the last possible moment. Very shortly after its return to Lo-yang in 522, rapidly spreading insurrections in Shensi and Kansu cut communications within China itself. When these had been restored by drastic military action and the authority of the new Western Wei regime was extended to the frontier at Tun-huang, the West in turn fell into confusion. Access to India over the mountains from the north was blocked, and the Buddhist Church in Gandhāra was largely destroyed, probably in the 530's, by the White Hun tyrant, Mihirakula.¹⁶⁴) The latter's Hephthalite kinsmen in the Bactrian region were soon afterward threatened by the rapid spread of the new Turkish power.¹⁶⁵) Somewhere around 565 their century-old supremacy ended in a catastrophic defeat at the hands of the Turkish khan. In Central Asia the Turks fought ferociously and with the same final success against their old overlords, the Juan-juan. The latter, beaten again and again, were at the last so completely broken that their leaders could survive only by taking refuge in 553 in Northern Ch'i territory, behind the Great Wall. The positions of the two north Chinese states themselves were of course seriously affected by this new explosion of nomadic power, and much of their armed strength and diplomatic ingenuity had to be expended in the defense of their own northern frontiers.

The flood of missions from western countries to Lo-yang had fallen off drastically even before the T'o-pa dynasty's last, calamitous decade opened there. The rupture by war of the old lines of communication reduced recorded intercourse to a thin trickle. Neither of the northwestern regimes could boast of anything more than sporadic visits from the farther West. The powers most anxious for Chinese support, the Hephthalites and the Persians, came to Ch'ang-an a few times prior to the tightening of Turkish control; the former in 545, 553 and 557, the latter in 555. The Turks began their frequent embassies in 557. Perhaps because the spread of Turkish sovereignty had begun to make the roads somewhat safer, the enterprising traders of Sogdiana and Bactria were able to push through missions in 564 and 567, respectively. The great caravan cities of the Tarim Basin, which may have suffered severely in the wars, are almost unmentioned; Kucha appears in the Chou annals for 561, Karashahr for 564, and Khotan for 574.¹⁶⁶) During all this period northeastern China, being blocked from the normal cross-continental routes by an implacable enemy, had no diplomatic relations with the West at all. Whatever

traders were able to reach Yeh must have taken the roundabout and very uncertain route across the north, through steppes dominated first by the Juan-juan and then by the Turks.

In the Buddhist world missionary enterprise across Central Asia seems to have been severely curtailed for the same reasons. The Eastern Wei employed several Indian translators of minor importance who had first arrived at Lo-yang when communications were still easy. The Northern Ch'i secured just one, the Udyana monk Narendrayasas, an inveterate wanderer whose mission had originally taken him to the Juan-juan, and who went on to Yeh in 556 because of the Turkish conquest.¹⁶⁷) The Northern Chou court was reached by a small party including the Gandhāran monk Jinagupta, which had left India in 533, perhaps just prior to Mihirakula's persecution. It was halted in 535 outside the Chinese frontier, in the little Tarim oasis state of Shan-shan; and remained there frustrated for over twenty years. Even after Jinagupta's final arrival at Ch'ang-an in the 558—60 era, he seems to have won only a limited recognition at the Chou court. Perhaps in search of a more sympathetic atmosphere, he went with a governor of the Yü-wen house to the recently conquered province of Szechwan; and in the end he had to fly the country entirely and take refuge with the Turks to escape the Emperor Wu's proscription.¹⁶⁸)

If the old direct access with the West across the continent was so gravely impeded during the middle decades of the sixth century, the artistic influences we are tracing can have penetrated only from the South, first by sea and then across the south Chinese empire.

It must be emphasized from the start that the relationships of the two northern realms with the Liang and Ch'en were throughout their history very different. Both owed their initial strength to the convulsive antigovernmental — and hence anti-Chinese — reaction of the 520's, which reached its terrible climax in the massacre of the whole Wei court in 528 by the Hsien-pi rebel, Erh-chu Jung.¹⁶⁹) The Northwest, ruled by the Hsien-pi house of Yü-wen, maintained a good deal of this hostility to the end. Much of its population and a high percentage of its leaders remained non-Chinese. Chinese scholars and officials were employed with much the same limited appreciation of their practical value that the T'o-pa had shown a century earlier.¹⁷⁰) There were no diplomatic contacts with the Liang until the latter was at the point of ruin. Intercourse between the two powers became historically important only with the outburst of violence at the end of the latter dynasty; when the Northwest took advantage of the South's civil wars first to pinch off the outlying province of Szechwan in 553, and then in the following year to smash through the defenses of the new Liang capital, Chiang-ling, and murder the last emperor, Yüan.¹⁷¹) Here too the situation recalled the T'o-pa triumphs of the preceding century, and their sequels. An enormous quantity of loot and over 100,000 enslaved southerners were driven northwards from the ruined stronghold. Unquestionably this influx affected the cultural balance of the Northwest in something like the long familiar way. The dynastic biographies record a few advances at the top of the social scale. Four minor princes of the

Hsiao line and several other ex-Liang officials won high places in the Chou hierarchy.¹⁷²) Interest in belles lettres, composed in the polished Liang court style, was heightened by the acquisition of two already celebrated literati, Yü Hsin and Wang Pao.¹⁷³) The latter was in addition an expert calligrapher, whose family ties had once made him an intimate of the South's most famous master, Hsiao Tzu-yün.¹⁷⁴) On reaching Ch'ang-an he diverted to himself all the patronage that had previously been given to a Honan Chinese, Chao Wen-shen. The latter was at first furiously jealous, and then began to imitate his rival's calligraphic effects.¹⁷⁵) One can imagine this sort of change extending through the whole social structure of the Chou capital, particularly at the craft level. The acquisition of so many beautiful and luxurious objects, and of so many craftsmen trained in their manufacture, must have created a new standard of artistic proficiency. The pressure, however, seems to have been understood and carefully controlled by rulers who were determined not to fall into the same trap that had ruined the T'o-pa. The most obvious temptations were successfully put aside; court life, for example, remained relatively sober, in a modest setting. The same great Emperor Wu (r. 561—78) who did his best to destroy two of the most powerful agents of cultural penetration, Buddhism and Taoism, is said to have lived in a palace plainly built without brackets. Sculptural enrichment was banned from his precincts; and he permitted himself a harem of only ten ladies.¹⁷⁶)

As for the Northeast, it is true that the Kao rulers maintained their power by armies largely manned by Hsien-pi warriors; but the region was otherwise predominantly Chinese, and was full of cities and all the other marks of a settled civilization. The Kao were themselves Chinese, claiming descent from a famous clan, though they had been re-barbarized by civil war and were stained by a new family taint of violence and cruelty. In all of Chinese history, indeed, there can have been no other sequence of rulers who so consistently and outrageously flouted the Chinese ideal of humane living. Paradoxically it was in their treatment of the Chinese factor that they showed themselves most prudent and outwardly civilized. Their policies in this respect were set by the regime's shrewd founder, Kao Huan (496—547), who realized that his Chinese subjects furnished not only an enormous reservoir of talent and wealth, but also the most lasting reason why the Northeast should defend its independence against the aggressive, barbarian Northwest. Under his direction (while the throne was still occupied by a last, *fainéant* T'o-pa) the Chinese were encouraged to pursue their normal activities and aspirations. The Hsien-pi were persuaded not to exploit their monopoly of physical power; and to make the balance still more stable, friendly relations were reestablished with the Liang empire.¹⁷⁷) The northeastern rulers were so anxious to maintain this link, indeed, that when it was broken in 548 by an ill-advised Liang attack, the then regent, Kao Teng, took the initiative in restoring peace.¹⁷⁸) It is interesting to note that his overtures played on the Liang emperor's sympathies by stressing the common devotion of the two states to Buddhism. The Church was thereafter likely to have been one of the most active agents in maintaining good relations, though the dynastic histories as usual provide no proof. What they do record is a

continuous interchange of embassies from 537 on, annually or even semi-annually. The sequence was broken by the series of disasters begun by the rebellion of General Hou Ching in 547, which led to the tragic destruction of the Liang house. After order had been restored in the South by the Ch'en, however, the practise was resumed in 559, and was continued until the Northern Ch'i in turn began to disintegrate in 571.

The new cordiality was reflected in the terminology applied to inter-state relationships, as each side granted the other full dignity. The ambassadors no longer came "to bring tribute", but "to inquire", i. e. to present compliments. Each country was referred to by its proper dynastic name or as "our neighbor", instead of as "the Enemy" (or in the impudent phrase of the Northern Wei history, the "Island Barbarians").¹⁷⁹) The envoys were again selected for their cultural distinction and social poise, rather than as mere bargainers. Those who represented the North were now likely to be members of families — Chinese, of course — who had held important governmental posts and titles of nobility for generations. All were well educated, and possessed in some degree a gentleman's proper skill in versification. Some were exceptionally distinguished. The Eastern Wei mission of 539, for example, included the author of the Northern Wei history, Wei Shou.¹⁸⁰) The Liang in 543 sent a grandson of the emperor, Hsiao Ch'io, whose talents ranged from bold horsemanship to expert calligraphy;¹⁸¹) and in 545 the writer Yü Hsin (whom we have met above through his final service under the Chou).¹⁸²)

The illicit or unacknowledged economic aspect of these missions — or at least those from the North — is revealed by several passages in the dynastic biographies. Li Hui is said to have been the only one of the northern representatives who "kept his purity, and so was admired as incorruptible by the men of Liang";¹⁸³) the others habitually made profitable arrangements with traders. In the life of the austere Confucianist Ts'ui Hsien, again, we learn that "after peace had been concluded between the Wei and the Liang, the grandees all dispatched agents of their own with the embassies, to engage in trade. Ts'ui wanted to get nothing but Buddhist *sūtras*; so that when the Liang emperor learned of this, he had copies transcribed and sent to the embassy office, with an accompaniment of banners, flowers, jewelled canopies, and chanting."¹⁸⁴)

Wei Shou the historian was twice severely punished for commercializing embassies. During his own mission in 539 his behavior at Nanking with newly bought slave girls created a scandal. On his return he and a fellow envoy were asked by a high minister for a share of their southern acquisitions, and when they failed to satisfy him were sent to prison. In 562 Wei sent his personal agents with a mission to the Ch'en, charged to meet a "K'un-lun vessel" (from Indonesia). When it landed, they so loaded themselves with treasures that their very bedding-sacks were filled with jewels to a depth of a foot or more. On that and related charges Wei was exiled from the Ch'i court for three years.¹⁸⁵)

It is clear that a great demand existed at Yeh for luxury articles from the South. Other fragments of information indicate that acquisitive instincts and opportunities worked together throughout the cultural sphere at a new level of sophistication.

The Northern Wei scholars had taken pride in mastering ancient Chinese literature, up to the downfall of the Western Chin. Their successors won access to more modern treasures from the southern dynasties, of the sort collected in the contemporary anthology *Wen Hsüan*. Thus the puppet T'o-pa prince whose presence had lent a pretence of legitimacy to the Eastern Wei regime, met the news of his dismissal in 550 with an apt quotation from the Sung poet Hsieh Ling-yün.¹⁸⁶) In the same generation the two most honored poets of the Northeast were Wei Shou the historian and Hsing Shao; each accused the other of wholesale plagiarism from a favorite writer of early Liang, Wei from Jen Fang and Hsing from Shen Yo.¹⁸⁷)

A wide variety of southern masterpieces, old and new, must have been acquired in various ways during the middle decades of the century. Perhaps a good deal of the treasure trove seized at Chiang-ling by the Western Wei army, which had no obvious intrinsic value in barbarian eyes, was eventually sold to knowing collectors in the Northeast. The remarkable book of family advice composed by Yen Chih-t'ui (531—95), whose career carried him in the wake of conquests from the Liang to the Ch'i, then to the Chou, and finally to the Sui, tells that he was able to see a great many rare specimens of calligraphy by the two Wang masters "after the break-up of the Liang Privy Library", and that his family acquired ten scrolls by them. (He was at the time an intimate adviser to the Ch'i Emperor Wen Hsüan, r. 550—60).¹⁸⁸)

Yen also claims to have acquired, possibly through the same chain of circumstances, two paintings from the brush of the last Liang emperor, Yüan (the same who was murdered at the fall of Chiang-ling): one a white circular fan with locusts and a peacock, the other showing horses.¹⁸⁹) The art seems to have enjoyed a new prestige among the Liang princes, who practised it more frequently than those of any other dynasty prior to the T'ang. We know that it served as a diversion not only to the Emperor Yüan but also to his son Fang-teng and his nephew Ta-lien.¹⁹⁰) Among the cadet members of the house who found places at the Ch'i court after the dynasty's collapse, a grand-nephew of the Emperor Wu, Fang, is said to have been "fond of literature and of singing, and to have excelled at the pictorial art".¹⁹¹) On this account he received the palace post of curator of manuscripts and modern poems, and painted screens that were greatly admired. The last Northern Ch'i ruler, who as a youth had taken great pleasure in poetry and retained some interest even in his debauched maturity, had Fang collaborate with two others in recording the deeds of the famous worthies and heroes of antiquity, and in collecting various light-hearted and lovely modern poems — a revealing combination! — to use as subjects for paintings which he valued highly. It was very likely through this sort of encouragement that one of the Ch'i princes, Hsiao-heng, trained himself to an expert level in the art. He is said to have done "a green falcon on a wall of his audience chamber, which looked so real that pigeons and sparrows were afraid to come near it, as well as a highly admired picture of officials at court."¹⁹²)

While the most modern features of the Liang style in secular painting were being exhibited at Yeh, well-informed literati in the Northeast were probably extending their collectors' interest toward all accessible southern works of high

quality. A perhaps extreme example is recorded in the biography of the scholar-architect Hsin Shu. While governor of the region south of the Huai River (in modern Anhui, very close to Nanking), he is said to have shown his high-mindedness by requisitioning for himself only libraries containing Sung, Southern Ch'i, and Liang books; famous paintings by such old masters as Ku K'ai-chih and Lu T'an-wei; and specimens of fine handwriting by the two Wang.¹⁸³)

A rough index of the new importance granted to painting under the Northern Ch'i is furnished by *Li-tai Ming Hua Chi*, viii, which names nine noted masters (not counting those who ended their careers under the Sui). In contrast, only four are listed for the Wei dynasties, both Northern and Eastern, and only one for the Northern Chou.

In the field of Buddhist art, two Chinese painters of the sixth century won fame for the first time as specialists in the Indian style. The earlier was the greatest and most influential of the Liang masters, Chang Seng-yu. The other was the Northern Ch'i court artist, Ts'ao Chung-ta. The latter was remembered in the T'ang dynasty as an unrivalled expert in rendering "foreign" or "Indian" Buddhist icons.¹⁸⁴) What came to be called the Ts'ao style, practised as late as Northern Sung, involved a way of drawing figures with tightly clinging robes which looked as though they were soaking wet.¹⁸⁵) an apt description of the seeming transparency of the Gupta style. The general direction of my argument makes it likely this exceptional technique — like so much else at the time — was borrowed from the South, and so in some measure from its most successful exponent at Nanking in the preceding generation. There is no known justification for linking the two men directly, and the evidence for potential intermediaries between them is too confusing to handle with any confidence.¹⁸⁶) Chang must have been an almost impossible master to follow closely in the North so long as the two empires were separated, because he was primarily a painter of temple walls. Doubtless his subsequent, long continuing influence on many of the top-ranking painters of Sui and T'ang was facilitated by the reunification of China in 587 and the transfer of a number of his famous frescoes to new installations at Ch'ang-an and Lo-yang.¹⁸⁷) At the mid sixth century his example must have given sympathetic northerners like Ts'ao at least a strong general encouragement.

Little is known about the career of Chang Seng-yu. He is said to have held a variety of governmental posts in the first two decades of the Liang regime, including that of curator of paintings in the Privy Library.¹⁸⁸) A different textual source recording events and sights at Nanking, the mid eighth century *Chien-k'ang Shih Lu*, xvii, suggests that he was active for at least two more decades by naming him as the painter of celebrated frescoes for the suburban temple I-ch'eng-ssu, dedicated in 537.¹⁸⁹) His reputation seems to have been based on several outstanding assets, whose common factor was novelty. He had a marked taste for exotic themes: one writer speaks of "his novel shapes and strange creatures", another of "his unending variety of fantastic shapes and unusual forms". Again, he was the inventor of a revolutionary new kind of draftsmanship, replacing the traditional, continuous hair-line with a dynamic series of interrupted strokes and

dots.²⁰⁰) Finally, he knew how to render three-dimensional effects in the Indian mode. For the I-ch'eng-ssu gateway he "painted protruding and receding flowers . . . rendered in reds, greens, and blues, in a way derived from India. It was when seen at a distance that they gave the illusion of protruding and receding; on close inspection they turned out to be flat."²⁰¹)

The tenuousness of Chang's connection with the North may be somewhat strengthened by two further considerations. An anecdote about his work contains the only southern reference of the period to an icon of Vairocana — the newly popular Buddha whose many preserved inscriptions in the Northeast begin as early as 545.²⁰²) He and the other Liang painters may well have shown the deity many times, since the bestknown scripture celebrating Him had been known in the South since the beginning of the Sung.²⁰³) Chang's version happened to be remembered because it furnished the material for a good story. His Vairocana was installed in a temple at Chiang-ling, the city sacked by the Western Wei in 554; and it escaped later destruction by the iconoclasts of the Northwest because he had had the foresight to include portraits of Confucius and his disciples in the same hall.

More valuable for my argument is the stylistic affiliation that linked both northern sculpture and Chang's painting to the mature art of T'ang. The first connection is obvious in every figure or group of the developed Ch'i or Chou styles. The enormous difference that separates the disembodied, angular shapes of Lung-men from the fleshy voluptuousness of the T'ang eighth century was due to a stylistic revolution that was largely accomplished by the 570's. Many of the single images and the best reliefs from Hsian-t'ang Shan look already like the early T'ang style in their solidity and plausible modelling (figs 12, 16, 17). In the case of Chang we must rely on textual evidence, since none of the still visible paintings attached to his name has any real plausibility. The *Li-tai Ming Hua Chi*, however, bears continual witness not merely to the survival of his reputation, but to the usefulness of his pictorial achievements to a whole series of later masters from the Sui dynasty on.²⁰⁴) Even the two great eighth century rivals, the painter Wu Tao-tzu and the sculptor Yang Hui-chih, are said to have studied him assiduously and to have finally "mastered his inspired draftsmanship".²⁰⁵) Chang Yen-yüan's essay on brushwork, moreover, groups the Liang master with the incomparable Wu Tao-tzu as the two outstanding practitioners of a dynamic new style of drawing radically different from that of the past.²⁰⁶)

The wonder excited by Chang Seng-yu's inventiveness seems to show that the Liang age was ready to welcome a new way of rendering both secular and religious themes, after the long domination of the national style perfected by Ku K'ai-chih (and in sculpture by Tai K'uei). Novelty was given a similarly high value in other traditional arts of the South during the Liang and Ch'en regimes. Calligraphy provided a particularly close parallel to painting, since there the greatest fame was won by a master, Hsiao Tzu-yün, who practised a sketchy technique that must have been quite comparable to Chang's, in which the character might dissolve into a group of ink spots. In addition, both that Hsiao and his distant cousin, the

princely amateur Hsiao Lun, Wu Ti's sixth son, created a variety of new characters which won wide currency.²⁰⁷) In the realm of literature originality became a prime asset in the late 530's, under the encouragement of the princes who eventually ruled at the end of the dynasty as Ch'ien Wen Ti and Yüan Ti; and the ability to invent abundantly supported the reputations first of Wang Seng-ju (465—522) and then of Hsü Ling (507—83).²⁰⁸)

The fact that this general instinct for change should in Buddhist art have been diverted to an Indianizing style must have been due to a combination of accidents. The Liang throne was occupied throughout the four decades of the dynasty's power and prosperity by a ruler of exceptional piety and devotion to Indian authority. The Gupta style, with its superabundance of power and mass and its apparent simplicity, must have offered an exciting way of escape to Chinese artists surfeited with flatness and fussy detail. Finally, the Indian mode was more readily available for study in the sixth century than ever before. Chang Seng-yu's familiarity with the Indian trick of painting in heavy chiaroscuro, for example, was undoubtedly gained through his contacts with "foreign" monk-artists at the Liang court, one of whom bore a name recognizable through its Chinese transliteration as Marabodhi. Nanking was in addition visited by a painter, "Seng-chia-fo-t'o" or "Fo-t'o" — Samghabuddha? — variously called a foreigner or an Indian, two of whose scrolls of iconographic cartoons were extant in the imperial collection at the beginning of T'ang.²⁰⁹)

For the Liang, direct contact with the Indian world, by the long used sea route, was very rare. The dynastic annals record only "embassies bringing tribute" from "Central India" in 503 and from "North India" in 504, in addition to one from Ceylon in 527.²¹⁰) The chapter dealing with "Lands to the South by Sea" contains moderately long sections dealing with "Central India" and Ceylon, but these furnish only the most meagre hints of contemporary intercourse.²¹¹) Similarly, the arrival of only one native Indian monk-translator, Paramārtha from Ujjayinī, is noted for the very end of the dynasty (though he is said to have come by the Emperor Wu's express invitation).²¹²)

On the other hand it is clear that relations were frequent and culturally valuable with the empire's Indonesian neighbors, particularly with the great kingdom of Fu-nan (in the area of modern Cambodia).²¹³) The power of this last state seems to have been due to a fifth century conquest by invaders from southeast India. Its kings' names were formed with the suffix *-varman*, like those of the monarchs who were to rule later at Māmallapuram; the script found in their inscriptions looks like an archaic version of the Pallava alphabet. An embassy from this new dynasty was first sent to the Sung court in 434. A King Jayavarman opened relations with the Southern Ch'i in 484, employing as envoy "an Indian holy man, the monk Nāgasena" and sending as gifts "a seated Nāgarāja image of gold openwork and a statue of white sandalwood". He continued to deal with the next Nanking dynasty, despatching missions in 503 and 512. After his death his successor Rudravarman was represented at the Liang court in 514, 517, 519, 520, 530, 535, and 539. In 503 the Fu-nan party was headed by the monk Mandrasena or Maṇḍala,

who brought a Buddha image of coral. Rudravarman in 519 sent "an auspicious Indian sandalwood image". His principal gift in 539 was a live rhinoceros, with the news that there existed in his realm a Buddha's hair twelve Chinese feet long; to acquire this last Wu Ti despatched a monk-emissary of his own.

After the Ch'en restoration the Funanese came again in 559, 572, and 588. Throughout the century, until the final Sui triumph, missions came with a similar frequency from Lin-i (i. e. Champa: in 502, 510, 512, 514, 526, 527, 530, 534, 568, 572), and from the smaller, not surely identifiable Indonesian states of P'an-p'an (529, 532, 533, 540, 551, 571, 584) and Tan-tan (528, 531, 535, 571, 581, 585). The early P'an-p'an and Tan-tan parties bore witness to their Buddhist piety by presenting ivory images and miniature *stūpas*, or paintings thereof. P'o-li (perhaps Bali?) was represented in 517 and 522; a Buddhist text speaks of "a pure gold image" which was presumably brought on one of these occasions.²¹⁴⁾

The probably incomplete record of the monk translators who were active at the early Liang court includes two from Fu-nan, the envoy Mandrasena or Maṇḍala and a certain Saṅghabara. The Ch'en acquired a third, Subhūti.²¹⁵⁾

The assumption I have been trying to establish, that the Liang and Ch'en owed what new influences from the Indian world they may have received primarily to the Indonesian states as intermediaries is in one sense of little value. What we know about Indonesian Buddhism and its art in the fifth and sixth centuries is very meagre; even the fairly detailed Chinese histories deal primarily with secular matters. It may be assumed that lands as rich as Fu-nan and Lin-i patronized the Church generously and supported a flourishing religious art, which in extreme cases may have taken forms of spectacular splendor. For Lin-i the Southern Ch'i and Liang histories record an illuminating fact: when a Sung punitive expedition captured the capital in 445, a set of colossal gold and silver images dedicated by the royal house "to the Nigrantha cult" was seized and melted down, yielding an enormous quantity of precious metal.²¹⁶⁾ More generally, we may assume that the existence of this intermediary, colonial culture affected the transmission of Indian forms in much the way in which the Korean states a century later were to modify the Chinese forms that they handed on to Japan; adding a factor of unpredictability to the final product.

The Indian Strain in Liang and Northern Ch'i Remains:

The published sixth century sculptures from the ruined temple site at Ch'eng-tu convey an extraordinary variety of information about the southern style. Several of these Szechwan stones show complex groups of figures against an aureole background. Their inscriptions call them *k'an*, niches or recesses, and it is possible that they reproduce at small scale the effect of separate figures placed within a shrine, or even cave excavations; the three-dimensional effect of the group is marked even though the background is flat. The earliest *k'an* stele, dated 522, still has the look that we have been accustomed to call "Wei" (fig. 8), though its affiliations in the North must be sought in the last decades of that style's survival under the eastern and western regimes.²¹⁷⁾ The central Śākyamuni, whose robe falls sym-

metrically over his thighs while revealing the legs beneath, is paralleled by well-known Eastern Wei stelae dated 537 and 538.²¹⁸) The complex iconography — there are four monks, four Bodhisattvas, and two Lokapalas in the main assemblage — recalls the painted group around Amitāyus in the Tun-huang cave 120N, dated 538—39,²¹⁹) or the multiple images common in Northern Ch'i and Chou.

The 522 stele has two unique features that stress the transitional character of middle Liang art. The rear shows the donor's family in two files worshipping a seated Buddha, and a narrative scene above, all being placed against a landscape lightly drawn in purely Chinese style. On the other hand the front at the dado level contains a frieze of six dwarfish musicians and dancers, who must have been borrowed directly from an Indian tradition already foreshadowed at Amarāvati, and well formed in the caves of Bādāmi.²²⁰)

The next dated piece in the Ch'eng-tu cache is a free-standing Śākyamuni of 529, carved in an almost completely exotic style (fig. 9).²²¹) Here the robe combines two features normally found separate in Indian works. Both shoulders are covered, in the fashion inherited by the Guptan school from Gandhāra (fig. 13). Below, however, the pattern of folds, drawn in arcs around the right side of the torso and legs, and then pulled almost vertically toward the left shoulder, belongs to the free-standing Buddha type developed at Amarāvati and at Anurādhapura in Ceylon. Impressive Indonesian examples of this last, varying only in proportions and in small details, have been found in Java, the Celebes and at the Vietnam site of Dong-duong, in what was once Lin-i (fig. 21).²²²) Our knowledge is still too fragmentary to permit a precise explanation of the Ch'eng-tu compromise. We can, at least, be reasonably sure that it was not merely the result of a provincial misunderstanding. The donor was "the heir to the Prince of P'o-yang", by the inscription's wording; i. e. he was Hsiao Fan, a nephew of the Liang emperor, who is known to have served as governor of I-chou (central Szechwan) early in his career.²²³) Very likely he was able to call a master sculptor from Nanking to give his donation — which is exceptionally well cut — a greater value.

A *k'an* stele of 548, centering on a standing Avalokiteśvara, continues the densely crowded grouping we have seen in the 522 stone (fig. 10).²²⁴) The figure style now anticipates the plasticity of the final phase of Northern Ch'i two decades later. The old crossing scarves have disappeared or been minimized; and the narrow jewelled pendants that continue their linear pattern reinforce, instead of concealing, the modelling of the torso and limbs.

A new type of standing Buddha appears in a statue dedicated after the northern conquest of Szechwan by a prince of the Chou line, "the Governor-general of I-chou and Realm-supporting Duke of the State of Chao, [Yü-wen] Chao" (fig. 11).²²⁵) The prince's biography states that he was given this post and title in the 561—66 era, and was transferred to a court assignment in 572, so that the date of manufacture can be limited at least to one decade. Fortunately the inscription records also the subject: "Chao has recently fashioned the image that was made by King Aśoka." There is a good chance that this extraordinary statement provides the clue to an iconographic problem which is very frequently posed throughout

subsequent Buddhist art in the Far East. Standing Buddha figures in which the robe is worn in a western fashion may be divided into three types, according to the patterns formed by their drapery folds. One of these, markedly assymetrical, is the south Indian or Sinhalese formula we have found in a Liang imitation of 529 (figs 9, 21). Its influence seems to have been the most restricted of the three, and later continuations are extremely rare.²²⁶) In the other two types the outer robe falls symmetrically across the front of the body in a series of long loops. The more complicated alternative supplements these catenaries by an independent system of nearly vertical folds, outlining the legs. This version, which may well have been first formulated in Central Asia — it is conspicuous among the Buddha figures standing around the ruined *stūpa* of Rawak, near Khotan — almost unquestionably derived much of its authority from the fact that it was believed to reproduce the form of the “first image” of Śākyamuni, carved in sandalwood during His lifetime by order of King Udyāna.²²⁷) It had dominated the first period of Northern Wei art (fig. 1), prior to the triumph of the Sinicizing fashion. After a long submergence it was to reappear in the T'ang, in areas as widely separated as Turfan and Japan.²²⁸)

The scheme followed in the Northern Chou governor's statue, in which nothing disturbs the even descent of the long curves from shoulders to knees, is clearly a somewhat de-humanized transcription of the classical Gupta tradition practised at Sārnāth and Mathurā (fig. 13). The Ch'eng-tu Buddha's inscription reveals the iconographic claim that permitted this type to compete for prestige with the Udyāna version. As I have shown elsewhere, the Chinese at least from the beginning of the Six Dynasties period were led to believe that the Indian Emperor Aśoka had with divine assistance become by far the most prolific of all early makers of Buddha images.²²⁹) His holy statues had been dispersed all over the world, as part of a divinely sanctioned missionary enterprise. The Chinese had of course received their due share in that remote age, but since the time was not yet ripe these remained concealed for many centuries. At last they began to reappear by various marvellous ways, to begin their task of winning piety and obedience. The earliest showed themselves in the lower Yangtse basin, at Nanking or in its vicinity. For the middle and upper Yangtse regions the one generally accepted Aśokan image must have been the Buddha enshrined at the fabulously wealthy monastery Ch'ang-sha-ssu, in the outskirts of Chiang-ling.²³⁰) The “history” of this statue had begun, according to the earliest preserved account, in 394, when it simply “appeared north of the city, with its radiant body-signs shining skyward”, in answer to the long-repeated prayers of the Ch'ang-sha-ssu founder, T'an-i. During the Sung, Ch'i, and Liang regimes it showed its supernatural powers on several occasions, most often reacting to political dangers or changes in the fortunes of the Church by sweating — like the P'eng-ch'eng Buddha — weeping, or walking about. It is said to have survived the disasters that broke up the Liang empire: and so when the conquerors from the Northwest set up a puppet state at Chiang-ling with the title “Posterior Liang” it was still adored in its original temple, or on special occasions at the palace. It continued to sweat and warn. The biography of the monk Fa-ching, who restored Ch'ang-sha-ssu during this period (554—587), speaks

of the temple as the abiding-place of "the holy image that is acclaimed as supreme in the world and first in China".²³¹⁾

By a fortunate accident we know that the Chiang-ling Buddha was accorded a special sanctity in Szechwan as late as early T'ang.²³²⁾ In 664 a certain "priest Hui-yü went from I-chou to Ch'ang-sha-ssu in Ching-chou, where the miraculous gilded bronze image resides. With the utmost fervor he made a vow to copy the statue in a painting for worship." His story is of interest for T'ang iconographic history, since it goes on to tell that he carried his icon — whose derived sanctity had been proved by a seven-days' emission of light — to Ch'ang-an, and there had it turned into a finished painting of a religious assemblage by the well-known master Fan Ch'ang-shou. When the latter's work was completed and the picture had been consecrated, another light miracle occurred. "As a result private copies were sought by all the officials in the government bureaux;" and one may wonder whether the Ch'ang-sha-ssu prototype was not soon afterward employed for the standing Buddhas that form the background for the imperial colossi of the Feng-hsien-ssu cave at Lung-men.²³³⁾

I can see no reason to doubt that the copy of an Aśokan image made a century earlier in stone for the Northern Chou viceroy in I-chou was taken from the same renowned original, down-river at Chiang-ling. The Ch'eng-tu statue's rendering, indeed, suggests a meticulous imitation of a bronze. The drapery folds in the published photograph are so thin and sharp that it is hard to believe that they were not cast in metal. The further question exists whether the "Aśokan image" — said to have been life-sized and of gilded bronze — can have been an authentic importation from Gupta India. Its early "history", however, need not stand in the way of more plausible explanations. An alternative version of the "appearance" story told by the seventh century hagiographer Tao-hsüan, while on the whole even less credible, does at least provide a normal means of arrival at the Yangtse city: the statue is said to have come, unseen, with the cargo of a trading vessel from Canton.²³⁴⁾ The date of 394, like the other dated beginnings of Aśokan image cults around Nanking, is very likely the result of a propaganda motive, and too early by several decades or generations. Perhaps the actual import, from India or Indonesia, was a much smaller and more easily portable figure, acquired inconspicuously and secretly copied at life size by Chiang-ling sculptors for greater impressiveness.

In discussing the Ch'eng-tu stones inscribed 522 and 548 I have called attention to their stylistic similarities to northern works, uniformly of later date. The hint of influence thus conveyed is reinforced by the case of the Aśokan Buddha, whose drapery formula reappears in the last phase of the Northern Ch'i style and in early Sui; the large stone Buddha in the Toronto Museum, which bears a Ch'i date of 577, is a characteristic example.²³⁵⁾

The culminating Northern Ch'i achievement at Hsiang-t'ang Shan is much too complex and heterogeneous to be explained by any one formula of imitation. A good deal that is visible in the cave sculptures seems a direct outgrowth of earlier practise in the North. Some decorative details have a strongly Iranian look, and so

suggest a filtering of ideas past the Turkish and Chou blockades; very likely by the same devious routes that brought a crowd of *hu* entertainers to swell the disreputable entourage of the last Ch'i emperor.²³⁶) At least two aspects of the Hsiang-t'ang Shan repertory, however, point in the opposite direction, past the Liang realm to Indonesia or south India.²³⁷)

The facades of Caves V and VII in the southern group — as a whole a curious medley of traditional and exotic elements — include one detail of striking novelty. The porch shading the entrance is held by two octagonal columns, broken at the half-way point by a double lotus banding, and resting on the backs of seated, winged lions (fig. 14). The same feature in a more formalized and elaborate treatment occurs in the mid seventh century "Māmalla" style, created for the Pallava kings of the southeast Indian coast, and widely displayed at their key site of Mahabalipuram (or Māmalapuram); my illustration is taken for convenience from the nearby Temple VII at Bhairavakonda (fig. 15).²³⁸) It has long been evident that the rich architectural repertory of the early Pallavas must be in the main a monumental restatement, in stone, of designs worked out earlier in wood. Presumably the supporting lion theme too was worked out well before the seventh century. If its reappearance at Hsiang-t'ang-shan around 570 is anything more than a coincidence, the theme may have been carried in miniature, as a detail of the setting of some portable shrine.

Again, the two large reliefs now in the Freer Gallery, Washington, which probably were taken from Cave II of the southern group — one illustrating the Paradise of Amitābha, the other a multiple assemblage of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas — bear a remarkable resemblance to compositions found at Barabudur: particularly to two panels belonging to the so-called Samantabhadra tier (figs 16, 17, 18, 19), where the figure relationships happen to be approximately the same.²³⁹) Here the comparison is of course chronologically embarrassing, since the Javanese sculptures are two centuries or more later than the Chinese. If the similarity is anything more than an accident, it must be due to a common derivation from the Guptan style. The Śailendra monarchs who built the great *stūpa*-pyramid were of southeast Indian origin; Guptan survivals are obvious in the classical Javanese art, under a veneer of native opulence. In the Chinese reliefs the seemingly naked figures, the weighty luxuriance of the tree behind Amitābha, and the architectural frames all seem to point in the same direction; one must of course remove from the equation the Paradise garden pavilions, which are purely Chinese. To be sure, no closely similar compositions are represented among the scanty remains of Guptan art in India; but the symmetrically massed figure groups surrounding a seated Buddha in the large preaching scenes of the late fifth century Cave XVII at Ajanṭā contain at least the main ingredients that are more effectively organized at Hsiang-t'ang Shan and Barabudur.²⁴⁰)

If the Hsiang-t'ang Shan evidence suggests nothing more than a strong possibility of contact with the Indian or Indonesian worlds, no doubt exists in the case of a Northern Ch'i stone engraving of 558, accessible through a rubbing in the collection of Mr. Laurence Sickman at Kansas City. The votive inscription with its date is enclosed between two standing Buddhas drawn in outline, one frontal (fig. 20),

the other in a three-quarters view.²⁴¹) The two views clearly record the same sort of figure, and thus may well have been drawn from some statue of exceptional sanctity. If such an image did exist, it must have been either an importation from the far South or a faithful copy, since the formulae of the Amarāvati — Anurādhapura type are reproduced even more punctiliously than in the Liang version of 529 (figs 9, 21). Other Buddha figures from the Northeast show that the Ch'i sculptors were aware of the southern drapery scheme, but were likely to modify its strangeness by covering the right shoulder with a hanging end of the *samghātī*.²⁴²)

NOTES

¹) E. g. B. Rowland, Notes on the Dated Statues of the Northern Wei Dynasty, Art Bulletin, XIX, 1, 1939, pp. 92 ff.; also L. Sickman in the Pelican History of Art series' Art and Architecture of China, Baltimore, 1955, p. 42.

²) E. g. L. Ashton, An Introduction to the Study of Chinese Sculpture, London, 1924, p. 42.

³) *Op. cit.*, p. 60. O. Sirén, in his Chinese Sculpture, London, 1925, p. xxxiii, comments that "the impression conveyed by the still existing monuments [is that] while artistic activity grew very quickly in the North, it gradually waned in the South".

⁴) P. C. Swann, An Introduction to the Arts of Japan, New York, 1958, p. 17.

⁵) Soper, Literary Evidence for Early Buddhist Art in China, Ascona, 1959 (Artibus Asiae Supplementum XIX).

⁶) *Op. cit.*, pp. 255—56.

⁷) *Ibid.*, p. 248. Ōmura S., Shina Bijutsu-shi, Chōso-hen, Tōkyō, 1915, pp. 24—25, quotes a variety of Han and post-Han sources that mention these colossi.

⁸) A. Wright, Buddhism in Chinese History, Stanford and London, 1959, pp. 42 ff.

⁹) Soper, *op. cit.*, pp. 35—36.

¹⁰) *Ibid.*, pp. 19—21. A brief statement of K'uei's importance as a reformer of Buddhist imagery is made in the biog. of his son Yung in the dynastic history Sung Shu, xciii, p. 2 a. More detailed praises are given in three early T'ang Buddhist texts: the encyclopedic miscellany Fa Yüan Chu Lin, xvi (completed in 668 by the monk Tao-shih); a treatise on celebrated pagoda sites, wonder-working images, etc., the Chi Shen Chou San Pao Kan-T'ung Lu, ii (by the monk Tao-hsüan, dated 664); and the anti-Taoist polemic Pien Cheng Lun, iii (by a monk of the preceding generation, Fa-lin). All of these are accessible in the modern Japanese Tripiṭaka, Daizōkyō: (1) in LIII as no. 2122, p. 406 a, b; (2) in LII as no. 2106, p. 416 c; (3) in LII as no. 2110; p. 505 b.

¹¹) Soper, *op. cit.*, p. 21; quoted from the 9th cent. painting history Li-tai Ming Hua Chi, v.

¹²) Soper, *op. cit.*, pp. 42—43. See note 10 above.

¹³) The term "Six Dynasties" as used in modern histories of Chinese art and continued here is confusing. It implies the period after the collapse of the Western Chin empire and the establishment of a refugee court at Nanking in 318. Thereafter, however, there were in fact only five southern dynasties. The Chinese term was coined to sum up all the post-Han regimes that ruled from Nanking, including the 3rd cent. Wu kingdom (and excluding Western Chin). In presenting evidence from the dynastic histories of both South and North after 318 I shall use the abbreviations CS, SS, NCS, LS, Ch'S, WS, PCS, and ChS to refer to those of the Chin, Sung, Nan Ch'i, Liang, Ch'en, Wei, Pei Ch'i, and Chou respectively. PS and NS will mean Pei Shih and Nan Shih.

¹⁴) Soper, *op. cit.*, p. 62, quoted from NCS, iii, p. 8 b.

¹⁵) Soper, *op. cit.*, pp. 60, 72, 76—77.

¹⁶) *Ibid.*, p. 60, quoted from the mid 7th cent. anthology of Chinese Buddhist literature, Kuang Hung Ming Chi, xxvii; in Daizōkyō LII as no. 2103, p. 320 b.

¹⁷⁾ Soper, *op. cit.*, pp. 67—68. Seng-yu's biography appears in the early 6th cent. collection of monks' lives, Kao Seng Chuan, xi; in Daizōkyō L as no. 2059, p. 420 c.

¹⁸⁾ Soper, *op. cit.*, p. 68, quoting from the biography of the monk Seng-hu in Kao Seng C., xiii, p. 412 a, b.

¹⁹⁾ Soper, *op. cit.*, pp. 62, 53.

²⁰⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 29, quoting from the section on Ceylon in LS, liv, p. 8 b.

²¹⁾ Soper, *op. cit.*, pp. 61, 62—64, 66—69.

²²⁾ *Ibid.*, pp. 34—35, 44, 51.

²³⁾ Ch'eng-tu Wan-fo-szu Shih K'e I-shu, Shanghai, 1958. See below, pp. 000 ff.

²⁴⁾ Soper, Northern Liang and Northern Wei in Kansu, Art. As., XXI, 2, 1958, pp. 133 ff.

²⁵⁾ Soper, Literary Evidence, pp. 84—85. To the sources quoted in n. 2 add WS, xcv, p. 5 b. For a general account of Hu's reign see W. M. McGovern, Early Empires of Central Asia, Chapel Hill, 1939, pp. 316—41.

²⁶⁾ NCS, xvii, p. 1.

²⁷⁾ Soper, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

²⁸⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 98, quoting from NCS, lvii, pp. 1 b—2 a.

²⁹⁾ WS, xcv, p. 5 b claims that Hu erected over 40 high terraces and belvederes. For a general account of capital cities between the 3rd and 7th cents. see Miyagawa T., Shirin XXXVI, 1, 1953.

³⁰⁾ Ashton, Chinese Sculp., p. 42, assumes that "the Wei Tartars themselves were great sculptors" because of their curious ancient custom of requiring a potential emperor or empress to cast successfully in person a human figure of metal. Nothing, however, is said in the Chinese texts involved about the size or character of these figures to indicate that they represented a feat any more remarkable than the casting of a large Ordos bronze. The Wei history is completely silent about the test in recording the accessions of the T'o-pa rulers; presumably it was a routine act, easily learned, which never was allowed to interfere either with the proper operation of primogeniture or the high-handedness of usurpers. The two recorded instances of male failures both occurred outside the T'o-pa clan. The first had to do with a favorite of Shih Hu's, one Jan Min, who after the tyrant's death led a temporarily successful uprising of Chinese against their barbarian overlords; he himself may well have been of Chinese origin. He gave his ephemeral period of rule the title Wei, but was not in the least "a Wei Tartar", as Ashton assumes. (CS cx, p. 1 a, b; also briefly told in L. Wieger, Textes historiques, Hsien-hsien, 1922, pp. 970—75.) The other story tells how the Hsien-pi rebel Erh-chu Jung, whose bloody coup wiped out the Northern Wei court in 528, twice had recourse to the casting method to help make up his mind. Before the massacre he cast bronze figures of the six T'o-pa princes who might be useful to him, and chose to be the future Chuang Ti the one whose effigy was not bungled. Later he is said to have tried four times vainly to cast his own figure, to justify seizing the throne (WS, lxxiv, p. 2 b). As for the T'o-pa empresses — who after the outset of the imperial era were likely to come from any powerful racial group in the North, including the Chinese — the only two recorded failures were T'ai Tsu's Hunnish Lady Liu and T'ai Tsung's Tangut Lady Yao (*ibid.*, xiii, p. 2 b). The latter ruler virtually disregarded the test and made the lady, his favorite, empress after her death. My conclusion here has been anticipated by J. Ware, "An Ordeal among the T'o-pa Wei", T'oung Pao, XXXII, 1936, pp. 205—09.

³¹⁾ Biography in WS, xxxv; see especially p. 6 b. Examples of his advice are cited by Wieger, Textes, pp. 1073—74, 1079, 1084, 1091—92, 1115—16.

³²⁾ A summary of the racial situation in the North is given in Mizuno and Nagahiro, Yün-kang, III, 1955, text pp. 95—96.

³³⁾ WS, xv, p. 6 a.

³⁴⁾ *Ibid.*, xix, 1, pp. 6 a—8 a.

³⁵⁾ *Ibid.*, xxxv, p. 9 b; also in the biography of Kao Yün in xlvi, pp. 2 a, b.

³⁶⁾ *Ibid.*, xxxiii, pp. 7 b—8 a. The teachings of Han Fei Tzu were also recommended in a long memorial submitted to T'ai Tsu by the Hopei scholar Kung-sun Piao: xxxiii, p. 5 a.

³⁷⁾ *Ibid.*, xxxv, p. 1 a.

³⁸⁾ *Ibid.*, xxxvii, pp. 1 b—2 a.

³⁹⁾ *Ibid.*, xxxviii, pp. 5 a—b.

⁴⁰) Soper, *Literary Evidence*, p. 93, quoting from WS, cxiv, p. 4 a. This last, the chapter on Buddhist and Taoism, has been newly translated by L. Hurvitz in Yün-kang, XVI, suppl., 1956, pp. 57 ff.

⁴¹) *Ibid.*, XI, text, pp. 77 ff.; also Mizuno, *Beginnings of the Buddhist Statue in China* (in Japanese), *Ars Buddhica* (i. e. *Bukkyō Geijutsu*), VIII, 1950, pp. 39–64.

⁴²) Soper, *Literary Evidence*, p. 270 and n. 52, argues against the often-made suggestion that the Bāmiyān colossi furnished a precedent for Yün-kang.

⁴³) *Ibid.*, pp. 268–70.

⁴⁴) WS annals in iv, v, vi, and vii, l; chapters on “the Western Regions” in cii and in Pei Shih, xcvii.

⁴⁵) Yün-kang suppl. pp. 69 ff.; also the translation by Gale from Tsukamoto Z., *Shina Bukkyō-shi Kenkyū*, vol. on Northern Wei, Tōkyō, 1942, pp. 131–164, under the title “The Sramana T’an-yao and His Time”, *Mon. Serica*, XVI, 1–2, 1957, pp. 363 ff.

⁴⁶) Soper, *op. cit.*, p. 96; Yün-kang suppl. p. 72.

⁴⁷) *Ibid.*, X, 1953, text p. 62 speaks of “the dress ordained and worn by the Emperor who was considered superior even to the Buddhist world” — and so could “with justification be adopted for the covering of images of the Buddha”. See also *ibid.*, III, text, pp. 98–99; and Nagahiro, *The Costume of Buddhist Images* (in Japanese), Tōhō Gakuhō, Kyōto, XV, 4, 1947, pp. 1–24. For the historical references, see WS, vii, 2, p. 1 a, and cviii, p. 4 b. Nagahiro’s article seeks support for the emperor’s robe theory in the decree of 452 recorded in the Wei history, which ordered “the authorities . . . to fashion a stone image in the likeness of the emperor’s person” (my p. 96; Yün-kang suppl. p. 71). If, as seems likely, this was a Buddha statue, it can hardly have reproduced anything except the ruler’s exact height, however. The costume — in an age still unprepared for Chinese fashions — must have been the conventional monk’s robe.

⁴⁸) Cf. the long, casuistical justification composed by the great Eastern Chin abbot Hui-yüan to render inoffensive the monks’ custom of baring their right shoulders: included in the Liang anthology *Hung Ming Chi*, xii (Daizōkyō, LII, no. 2102, pp. 32 b–33 b).

⁴⁹) Maeda K., *On the Buddhist Idol Mirrors* (in Japanese), *Kokka*, 1947, no. 667; second vol. on China in the series *Sekai Bijutsu Zenshu*, Tōkyō, 1952, p. 57; and Yün-kang XI, 1953, text pp. 80–81 (where the type is attributed by Mizuno to ca. A. D. 300).

⁵⁰) I-nan Ku Hua Hsiang Shih Mu Fa-chüeh Pao-kao, Peking, 1956, pl. 54. Simpler flaring skirt silhouettes are given to Ch’eng Wang in the Han stones from the Wu cemetery and from Hsiao-t’ang-shan; Chavannes, *Mission*, I, pls. xxvi, xxvii, and lxiv.

⁵¹) Soper, *op. cit.*, pp. 97–99; Yün-kang suppl., pp. 73–75.

⁵²) See her biography in WS xiii, p. 4 b, and supplementary information provided by that of her brother in lxxxiii, p. 5 b. A corrected reading of the first text is provided in the collection of Wei empress’ lives in the encyclopedia T’ai-p’ing Yü Lan, (hereafter referred to as TPYL).

⁵³) Wieger, *Textes*, II, pp. 1048–50.

⁵⁴) WS liii, pp. 1 a–3 a, the biography of Li Hsiao-pai.

⁵⁵) Events summarized in Wieger, *Textes*, II, pp. 1121–29, 1131–38.

⁵⁶) Biographies of the main Wei generals in WS l; and of the Sung renegades in lxi, to which should be added those of Ts’ui Tao-ku in xxiv, pp. 9 a–10 b, and of Liu Hsiu-p’in in xliii, pp. 3 a–4 a. The renegades are treated from the southern standpoint in SS lxxxviii.

⁵⁷) WS lxi, pp. 1 a–b.

⁵⁸) *Ibid.*, p. 7 a.

⁵⁹) See, e. g., the life of the elder statesman Kao Yün in WS, xlviii, pp. 10 a–b for a conspicuous example of this sort of assistance.

⁶⁰) *Ibid.*, cxiv, p. 6 a; Yün-kang suppl., p. 73; Gale’s translation from Tsukamoto (see note 45 above), n. 49 on p. 392; and Wieger, *Textes*, II, p. 1142.

⁶¹) Biography in LS, I, p. 1 a. His collaboration with T’an-yao is mentioned in the Liang Buddhist bibliography Ch’u San Tsang Chi Chi; see Yün-kang, XIII–XIV, text p. 101. WS, xliii, p. 5 b tentatively identifies with the Liang author a certain Liu Fa-wu, who had a similar early history and took Buddhist orders as a means of escape from destitution; it is suggested that he changed his name to Hsün on reaching the South.

⁶²) W. Eberhard, *Das Toba-reich Nord Chinas*, Leiden, 1949, pp. 65–68, family 77 C.

- ⁶³) See note 56.
- ⁶⁴) WS, lxvi, especially p. 6 a.
- ⁶⁵) *Ibid.*, lxvii, especially p. 2 b.
- ⁶⁶) Soper, *Literary Evidence*, p. 50. Yün-kang suppl., p. 74, supplies references to the southern accounts of the miracle.
- ⁶⁷) Soper, *op. cit.*, pp. 38–39, taken from Chi Shen Chou, ii (Daizōkyō, LII, p. 419 a).
- ⁶⁸) Soper, *op. cit.*, p. 43, taken from Fa Yüan CL, xvi (Daizōkyō, LIII, p. 406 b).
- ⁶⁹) Soper, *op. cit.*, p. 39, taken from WS, cxii, l, p. 12 b. Parenthetically one may note that the Wei governors were still taking a continued interest in this temple a generation later. The biography of the southern scholar Chiang Ke in LS, xxxvi, p. 2 b, tells that on his capture at Hsü-chou when a Liang attempt to re-take the city by treachery failed, in 525–26, the incoming Wei commander, another T'o-pa prince, ordered him to compose the text for a stele to be erected in the "Eighteen-foot Temple".
- ⁷⁰) Soper, *op. cit.*, pp. 99–100, taken from WS, cxiv, p. 6 b; Yün-kang suppl., p. 77. The geographical section of WS, in cvi, 2, p. 7 a, notes that this commandery was formed in the 416–24 era as a result of border skirmishing with the Sung.
- ⁷¹) Soper, *op. cit.*, p. 243.
- ⁷²) *Ibid.*, pp. 29–30, 225–26. The tale of the Hsü-chou version is taken from Tao-hsüan's mid 7th cent. continuation of the biographies of eminent priests, Hsü Kao Seng Chuan, xxix, in connection with the life of the Sui monk Seng-ming (Daizōkyō, L, p. 629 a).
- ⁷³) Soper, *op. cit.*, pp. 98–99, from WS, cxiv, p. 6 b; Yün-kang suppl., pp. 74–75. See above, pp. 000.
- ⁷⁴) WS, lxviii, p. 3 b, biography of Ts'ui Kuang. The pagoda is mentioned because it had been burned down by lightning in the 467–70 era, and so by Kuang's way of thinking illustrated the folly of expecting Buddhist buildings to possess supernatural protection.
- ⁷⁵) Soper, *op. cit.*, p. 97, from WS, cxiv, p. 6 a; Yün-kang suppl., p. 72. There is no direct evidence that these five were linked to the Wei rulers, but the fact has been generally assumed from the similarity of the donation to one made a little earlier, in 454: five colossal bronze standing figures of Śākyamuni, to be installed in a metropolitan temple "on behalf of the five emperors from T'ai Tsu on" (my p. 96 from WS, cxiv, p. 6 a; Yün-kang suppl., p. 71). The link between these two great works must have been dynastic rather than theological, since their iconographic difference was extreme: at Yün-kang each cave is radically unlike the others, and at least one main figure, the Bodhisattva Maitreya of Cave XVII, is obviously no Śākyamuni. For my suggested identification of the five T'o-pa forefathers involved, see below, pp. 000.
- ⁷⁶) Soper, *op. cit.*, p. 102, from WS, cxiv, p. 8 b; Yün-kang suppl., p. 91.
- ⁷⁷) The one visit of inspection made by their son, Hsien Tsu, to the cave site was in 467, at which time the pair may have been completed; WS, vi, p. 2 a. For VII and VIII see Yün-kang, IV and V respectively.
- ⁷⁸) The remaining three imperial visits were made in 480/8, 482/3, and 483/5. Perhaps the first of these was to the newly completed pair IX and X (for which see Yün-kang, VI and VII). The later trips probably testify to the interest taken by the empress dowager in her own, personal dedications. It may be noted that the Japanese archaeologists have either made no identifications of the caves or have proposed different ones from those advanced here. Hsien Tsu, for example, they link with Cave VI, seeing in its exceptional richness a result of the universal mourning for that monarch after his untimely death (and disregarding the fact that the dictator of the time, the empress dowager Lady Feng, was his sworn enemy and probably also his murderer. For this, see pp. 000 below).
- ⁷⁹) Yün-kang, IX.
- ⁸⁰) *Ibid.*, III.
- ⁸¹) *Ibid.*, II.
- ⁸²) Slightly varying versions of her biography appear in WS, xiii, pp. 3 b–4 b; PS, xiii, pp. 5 a–6 a; and TPYL, cxxxix, pp. 4 b–6 a (in the Su Pu Ts'ung-k'an San Pien edit., 50). A critical translation is given in A. G. Wenley, *The Grand Empress Dowager Wen Ming and the Northern Wei Necropolis at Fang Shan*, Freer Gallery of Art Occasional Papers, I, 1, Washington, D. C., 1947 (corrected by J. Duyvendak, T'oung Pao, XXXVIII, 1948, pp. 308 ff).

⁸²⁾ For general data on the family see Eberhard, Toba-Reich, pp. 36—37, no. 22. Similar biographies of the two rulers appear in WS, cxviii, pp. 4 b—6 a, and in PS, xcii, pp. 7 b—8 b; CS, cxxv, pp. 6 b—9 b deals primarily with the first. TPYL, cxxvii, pp. 3 b—6 a, quotes from an eclectic version in the sixth century Shih Liu Kuo Ch'un Ch'iu.

⁸⁴⁾ He must, of course, have known the Chin account through some version of the dynastic history that preceded the presently accepted one, which was compiled only in the mid 7th cent.

⁸⁵⁾ IV, first year of Duke Min; translated by J. Legge, Chinese Classics, V, 1, 1872, p. 125.

⁸⁶⁾ *Ibid.*, XII, 2nd year of Duke Ai; Legge, V, 2, p. 799.

⁸⁷⁾ A. Tschepe, *Histoire des trois royaumes Han, Wei, et Tchao*, Shanghai, 1910, pp. 39 ff. and geneological table at end.

⁸⁸⁾ Among all the earlier persons named Feng who have biographies in the dynastic histories I have found only one similar claim. Feng Fang (1 B. C.—A. D. 84), an official high in the favor of the first Eastern Han emperors, was said to be a scion of the old Wei feudal house, and to have acquired his surname from a "Feng city" where his ancestral estate had been located; Hou Han S., lxiii, p. 4 a.

⁸⁹⁾ He is called Duke of Hsi-ch'eng-chün in WS xiii, p. 3 b and PS, xiii, p. 5 a (biographies of the empress); Duke of Liao-hsi-chün in WS, lxxxiii, p. 4 a and PS, lxxx, p. 4 a; and Duke of Hsi-chün in TPYL, cxxxix, p. 4 b. Wenley's n. 9 assumes that the first two of these variants were borne by different men, and that Feng was thus executed for complicity in the conspiracy of the T'o-pa Duke of Liao-hsi, I-lieh. The latter's biography in WS, xv, p. 7 b and the annals, ii, p. 2 a, make it clear that this event took place in 398, a half century too soon. The fief was temporarily annulled thereafter, and so could have been given again in the 430's to Lang, the more aptly since he had lived in the Liao-hsi area before joining the Wei.

⁹⁰⁾ This must have been the daughter of Feng Hung, who had been sent to the Wei court with a last peace overture in 435. Wenley's note 10 with respect to her is erroneous.

⁹¹⁾ Biography in WS, xlvi; see p. 3 b.

⁹²⁾ Biography in *ibid.*, lxxxiii, 1, p. 6 b.

⁹³⁾ See WS, xxxi, p. 2 a, biography of Yü Lieh, the imperial inspector who uncovered the situation; and xiv, p. 2 a, that of T'o-pa Mu-ch'en. The other governor, Wei Lo-hou, has no biography, but his name is so like that of the Wei To-hou treated in xxvi, p. 4 a, that he must have been a close relative. For his family, see Eberhard, *op. cit.*, p. 71, no. 84.

⁹⁴⁾ Wenley, p. 5, has followed the erroneous PS reading in rendering this "a Wen-hsüan-wang Miao (Confucian Temple) at Ch'ang-an". The *wen* is a mistranscription of *yu*, "moreover". The other references to the shrine make its purpose unmistakable.

⁹⁵⁾ They were: Cheng Hsi, Ts'ui T'ing, Fu Yung, and Kao Tsun; biographies in WS, lvi, p. 1 b, lvii, p. 3 a, lxx, p. 1 b, and lxxxix, p. 2 a, respectively.

⁹⁶⁾ Wenley's translation (p. 5), "and raised a Ssu-yen stupa at Lung-ch'eng" has failed to uncover the meaning of the act.

⁹⁷⁾ WS, vii, 1, pp. 6 a, 7 a.

⁹⁸⁾ *Ibid.*, xxvii, p. 1 b, biography of Mu T'ai. Ssu-ma Kuang's general history, Tzu-chih T'ung-chien, cxxxiv (p. 4194 in the Shanghai edition of 1956), carries an anecdote with the opposite sense: the boy emperor is said to have become so exasperated with the dowager's strictness that he impulsively ordered a court physician to prepare a poison for her; only the commonsense of his advisers made him change his mind.

⁹⁹⁾ Wieger, *Textes*, I, pp. 55 a ff. Wenley's translation, p. 7, suggests that the dowager may have tried to rally the grandees of her family's old seat in Manchuria, by speaking of an entertainment over which she and Kao Tsu presided at which the quests were headed by "a company of officials from Yen". The versions of the story told in PS and TPYL, however, make it clear that the *yen* involved is merely the verb "to feast"; the imperial pair were giving a banquet for their court officials.

¹⁰⁰⁾ Biography in WS, lxxxiii, pp. 4 a, b.

¹⁰¹⁾ See below, p. 000. For the prince's death, see Wieger, *Textes*, II, p. 1119, and Tzu-chih TC, cxxxvi, p. 3971. The variant south Chinese accounts cited in the last claim that the crown prince was discovered in a treasonable situation, and was "allowed to kill himself".

¹⁰²⁾ Biographies in WS, lix, pp. 1 a—2 b, and in SS, lxxii.

- ¹⁰³⁾ Yün-kang, IX, text, pp. 101, 104.
- ¹⁰⁴⁾ *Ibid.*, plates, pl. 30.
- ¹⁰⁵⁾ Yün-kang IX and X, plates, pls.
- ¹⁰⁶⁾ See note 75 above.
- ¹⁰⁷⁾ WS, i, p. 5 a.
- ¹⁰⁸⁾ *Ibid.*, vii, 2, p. 4 a, and cviii, 1, p. 6 b. Tao Wu Ti had until then been called Lieh Tsu, "the Ardent Ancestor".
- ¹⁰⁹⁾ Yün-kang.
- ¹¹⁰⁾ My suggestion means for the other Imperial caves that the sequence, running backward from XX, should begin with "Kung Tsung" the ill-fated Buddhist crown prince (and not with Kao Tsung, who was honored in the pair VII—VIII beside his queen). Thus the most grandiose excavation of the five, XIX, will correspond to T'ai Wu Ti, whose career best suited this supreme effort; both because his victories were the most spectacular, and because his persecution of the Church required an extreme act of expiation.
- ¹¹¹⁾ Biography in WS, liii, pp. 6 b—10 b.
- ¹¹²⁾ Biography in *ibid.*, lxiii, pp. 4 a—5 a. A pathetic remark reveals Kao Tsu's need for sympathetic understanding and his bored contempt for his usual attendants.
- ¹¹³⁾ *Ibid.*, lxvii, p. 1 a, and lxvi, p. 6 a, respectively.
- ¹¹⁴⁾ *Ibid.*, lxi, p. 4 a.
- ¹¹⁵⁾ *Ibid.*, xlii, p. 7 b, biography of Yao Hsüan.
- ¹¹⁶⁾ *Ibid.*, xvi, p. 4 b.
- ¹¹⁷⁾ One Wei embassy, for example, included an expert *wei-ch'i* player, Fan Ning-erh, who won a match against the Ch'i court champion; *ibid.*, xci, p. 12 b.
- ¹¹⁸⁾ *Ibid.*, xlvii, p. 5 b.
- ¹¹⁹⁾ *Ibid.*, lxii, pp. 4 b—5 a.
- ¹²⁰⁾ *Ibid.*, lxxix, pp. 1 a—b, biography of the Wei host, Ch'eng Yen.
- ¹²¹⁾ *Ibid.*, liii, p. 4 b. Tzu-chih TC, cxxxv, p. 4257, notes that the southern envoy, Liu Tsuan, came more than once to Tai, "and in the end was privily visited by Lady Feng"; i. e. was taken as her lover.
- ¹²²⁾ See below, pp. 000 ff.
- ¹²³⁾ Biographies in LS, xlviii and xliii, respectively. Chen's famous argument against the Buddhist doctrine of Fung Yu-lan, *A History of Chinese Philosophy*, Princeton, 1953, pp. 289—92.
- ¹²⁴⁾ WS, lxxxii, p. 2 a, biography of Tsu Ying. In praising Tsu's scholarship Kao Tsu on another occasion made a second revealing remark: he wondered how a man so learned could have been bred in the far North (he came in fact, from a Hopei district, Fan-yang, which had already produced a great number of distinguished Wei office-holders. See Eberhard, *Toba-reich*, p. 18).
- ¹²⁵⁾ NCS, xlvii, pp. 1 b—2 a.
- ¹²⁶⁾ Biography in WS, lv, pp. 1 a—b.
- ¹²⁷⁾ NCS, xlvii, p. 3 a. After this exchange, Wang turned to serious business, complaining about the quality of the horses sent as gifts by the Wei ruler. Similarly, a concealed function of the Wei mission is revealed by the quoted interrogation of Sung Pien after his return by Kao Tsu, as to the state of the Ch'i regime and its prospects for survival. Sung's report was unsparingly critical (WS, lxiii, p. 4 a).
- ¹²⁸⁾ *Ibid.*, xci, pp. 12 a—b; also mentioned in the southern account of the Wei regime in NCS, lvii, p. 4 a.
- ¹²⁹⁾ NS, xlvii, p. 3 a, biography of Ts'ui Yüan-tsu.
- ¹³⁰⁾ In the modern Kuo-chi Chien-pien edition of Shanghai, this description is in III, xliii, p. 11. Chang Seng-ta is unknown. One should probably resist the temptation to imagine him as a close relative of the renowned Liang master Chang Seng-yu, and so as an important agent in the transmission of southern artistic ideas; Chang was of course one of the commonest of surnames, and Seng also was fairly common in the period as the first half of a given name.
- ¹³¹⁾ NCS, lvii, p. 7 b, dramatizes the racial conflict that Kao Tsu's Sinophile policies fanned into flame. There was in fact a brief revolt in 496 of a faction that wished to keep the capital at Tai and to preserve the old ways. The ringleaders chose the crown prince Hsün as their figurehead. The

southern account stresses his intransigence by claiming that when the emperor gave him proper court robes and headgear, he secretly ripped them to pieces and retained his traditional Hsien-pi dress. The rebels, it is said, disapproved of Kao Tsu's "employment of Chinese".

¹²⁸) WS, lxiii, pp. 1 a—3 a; Giles, no. 2227. The story of his family's tragedy is told in detail in NCS, xlix, in the biography of his father Huan, an official who at the outset of his career had been universally admired. At the end, as a provincial governor, he was led by personal hatred to contrive the arbitrary execution of a subordinate; tried to resist arrest by an imperial inspector; and was killed in the taking of his stronghold.

¹²⁹) Wei Chih, xvi; CS, xxxiv; Giles, no. 2072.

¹³⁰) Wang's biography in PS, xlii, p. 2 a, concludes: "With the fall of the Chin house, rites and music were swept away. The Emperor Hsiao Wen [i. e. Kao Tsu] undertook to reform the rules and to change popular customs, but in his time the results were still summary and fell short of full purity. Su understood and was expert in the ways of the past, and undertook his mission in a disinterested spirit; the dynasty's court ceremonial and its code of laws were all his work." The Southern Ch'i account of the Wei also briefly mentions Wang's services to the North (NCS, lvii, p. 7 b). In 497 he is said to have reorganized the Wei bureaucracy to be "like that of China". The list of rewards he received here includes "a mansion with perfumed walls".

¹³¹) In connection with this temple, the mid sixth century account of the splendors of the Buddhist Church at Lo-yang, Yang Hsüan-chih's Lo-yang Ch'ieh-lan Chi, iii, adds further details of Wang's talents and ingratiating personality (Daizōkyō, LI, no. 2092, p. 1011 b).

¹³²) WS, lxxi, has biographies of the group.

¹³⁷) *Ibid.*, lxxi, pp. 1 a—2 a (P'ei) and lxi, pp. 2 a—b (Hsüeh).

¹³⁸) *Ibid.*, lxxi, pp. 3 a—4 a.

¹³⁹) His younger brother Liao, p. 4 b, showed a similar arrogance, deliberately disregarding the commands of a T'o-pa prince. Toward the despotic regent Kao Chao, whom all others were flattering, he behaved with a bare civility. When his family complained he retorted: "How can one allow one's self to behave like such riff-raff?"

¹⁴⁰) *Ibid.*, pp. 7 b—9 a.

¹⁴¹) *Ibid.*, p. 10 b; cited among the handful of Wei painters noticed in Li-tai MHC, viii.

¹⁴²) Soper, Literary Evidence, pp. 103—11, quotes passages relating to the arts.

¹⁴³) *Ibid.*, pp. 102—03, for the Pin-yang cave. It is a little surprising that the empress-mother cave ordered in 500 was never completed, particularly since the lady's high-handed brother, Kao Chao, was regent from 512 to 515 (WS, lxxxiii, 2, pp. 1 a—2 a). Kao's biography, however, records a remarkable indifference to the memories of his deceased father and elder brother. He took no pains to increase the dignity of their tombs when they were awarded posthumous honors; and when an imperial order was finally issued to re-bury them in a fashion suited to their new ranks, he had the transfer superintended by a nephew, instead of giving it his own attention. Perhaps this total self-centeredness made him equally indifferent to the state of his sister's cave temple.

¹⁴⁴) Listed in Li-tai MHC, vi and vii.

¹⁴⁵) In an earlier discussion of the donor panels ("Life Motion" etc., Art Bulletin, xxx, 1948, p. 179, n. 98) I suggested over-hastily that the refugee imperial prince Hsiao Pao-yin may have brought such a painting with his personal luggage. As WS lix makes clear he was forced to escape from Nanking alone, disguised as a commoner, with no more than he could tie around his waist.

¹⁴⁶) Mizuno and Nagahiro, Ryūmon Sekkutsu no Kenkyū, Tōkyō, 1941, pp. 13—26, 125—27. The first excavations, in response to the command given in 500, were begun at an impracticable height. In 508 a high minister petitioned that a new start be made nearer the ground. Soper, *op. cit.*, p. 102, and Yün-kang suppl., p. 91.

¹⁴⁷) Ryūmon, pp. 87—108, 125.

¹⁴⁸) Reproduced by courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts; published by Sirén, Chinese Sculpture, pl. 16 B.

¹⁴⁹) The *vara mudrā* is already present among the Sinicizing figures of Cave VI, Yün-kang. A presumably earlier stage, with the left hand slanting somewhat away from the body axis, is seen in the Udyāna type of standing Buddha represented by the gilded bronze Wei figure now owned by

Kōfukuji, Nara, dated 443 (Yün-kang, XI, text fig. 13). This in turn seems derived from the Gupta formula in which the hand still lightly holds the free end of the robe. The Indian tradition is dominant as far across the Central Asian highway as Rawak (*op. cit.*, XII, text fig. 16). The decisions to free the fingers from the robe, and then to turn the hand into a position mirroring the *abhāya mudrā*, upside-down, seem to have been taken in China; the last presumably in the South, for reasons of symmetry.

¹⁶⁰) Ch'eng-tu Wan-fo-ssu etc., additional figs. 1, 2.

¹⁶¹) Natori Y., Bakusekizan Sekkutsu, Tōkyō, 1957, pls. 61, 84, 85; Sirén, *op. cit.*, pls. 136 (dated 526) and 141 B. Yün-kang X, text p. 6, shows a drawing of a Buddha skirt from the Ku-yang cave at Lung-men (left side, third and latest tier, first niche, dated ca. 516–19) which is designed symmetrically.

¹⁶²) Sirén, *op. cit.*, p. 7, *re* the Boston piece as indicating that “the early Buddhist art of Korea and Japan was more influenced from the South than by the art which flourished in Northern China”.

¹⁶³) Wiegner, *Textes*, II, pp. 1181–83.

¹⁶⁴) Hsiao Tsung, the prince recognized as Liang Wu Ti's second son — although many believed that his true father was the last Ch'i ruler — changed sides in 525, but reached the Wei court only in its last stage of violent dissolution, and saved his own life only by hiding in the mountains as a monk (WS, lix, pp. 8 b–9 a; LS, lv). A nephew of Wu Ti's, Cheng-piao, decamped in 522 in the hopes of being more generously treated at Lo-yang, but soon was disappointed and came home again (WS, lix, pp. 9 a–b).

¹⁶⁵) LS, x, p. 3 b, biography of Ts'ai Tao-kung.

¹⁶⁶) WS, vii–ix, annals.

¹⁶⁷) Soper, *Literary Evidence*, p. 110.

¹⁶⁸) The relative indifference with which the Wei treated all foreign relations except those with Nanking is shown by the fact that whereas the persons involved in the North-South exchanges are punctiliously named in WS (and usually have biographies as well), virtually no others are singled out.

¹⁶⁹) See note 145.

¹⁷⁰) Soper, *op. cit.*, pp. 118–20.

¹⁷¹) Sirén, *op. cit.*, pls. 273–75.

¹⁷²) Soper, p. 115 and n. 4.

¹⁷³) *Ibid.*, pp. 127–31.

¹⁷⁴) R. Ghirshman, *Les Chionites-Hephthalites*, Cairo, 1948, p. 108; McGovern, *Early Empires*, p. 416. Sung Yün had found the Church still prosperous in Gandhāra and Afghanistan, though threatened by a tyrannical warlord.

¹⁷⁵) Wiegner, *Textes*, II, pp. 1228–31; McGovern, pp. 417–18.

¹⁷⁶) ChS, ii, iv, v.

¹⁷⁷) P. C. Bagchi, *Le canon bouddhique en Chine*, Paris, 1927, pp. 261–67, 270–71; Hsü Kao SC, ii (in Daizōkyō, L, p. 432 a, b).

¹⁷⁸) Bagchi, pp. 273–79; Hsü Kao SC, ii, p. 433 b.

¹⁷⁹) Wiegner, *Textes*, pp. 1199–1209; E. Balazs, *Le traité économique du “Souei-chou”*, Leyden, 1953, pp. 139–40, 241 ff.

¹⁸⁰) C. S. Goodrich, *Biography of Su Ch'o*, Berkeley, 1953; Balazs, *op. cit.*, pp. 148 ff., 261 ff., 281 ff.

¹⁸¹) Wiegner, *Textes*, pp. 1221–28.

¹⁸²) Treated as a group in ChS, xlii.

¹⁸³) *Ibid.*, xli.

¹⁸⁴) LS, xxxv, pp. 3 b–4 b; and see below, p. 000.

¹⁸⁵) ChS, xlvii, p. 5 b.

¹⁸⁶) *Ibid.*, vi, p. 7 b. On entering Yeh as a conqueror, Wu Ti is said to have proposed to distribute its treasures among the Ch'i subjects who had suffered from their ruler's tyranny and extravagance; *ibid.*, xlv, p. 4 a, biography of Hsiung An-sheng. The life of Lo Sun in xlv, p. 5 a, tells that in 558 he submitted suggestions to the government, one of which recalled the ruinous luxury of Lo-yang and expressed fear lest the beauty of “tribute” objects and the skill of craftsmen should lead to the same danger.

¹⁸⁷) Balazs, *op. cit.*, p. 201 n. 83, and pp. 255 ff.

¹⁷⁹) On the death of Kao Huan in 547 his generalissimo for the Honan region, Hou Ching — mistrusting Teng's recklessness — decamped with his armies, offering himself first to the Western Wei and then to the Liang. When the latter accepted him he persuaded the aged Wu Ti that a unique opportunity to conquer the disturbed Northeast had arisen. The campaign that followed, against P'eng-ch'eng, was shockingly bungled. Of the southern leaders, Hou was adroit enough to extricate his own troops, but the rest were routed. First among the captives was one of Wu Ti's eldest nephews, Hsiao Ming. He and the other Liang generals were released as soon as they reached Yeh. The real purpose sought was voiced by Kao Teng, who "received Ming courteously and said: 'Our late prince maintained peaceful relations with the Liang ruler for over ten years and had for him the warmest regard; knowing of his ceremonial code and his support of Buddhism and letters, he would often call him the equal of our own Wei ruler. Now without warning one party has broken faith, and this disorder and vexation have ensued'. Wanting peace with the Liang, he sent an envoy with a letter from Ming to convey the news to Wu Ti; who for his part returned a placating letter to Kao Teng." (NS, li, p. 6 a; PCS, xxxiii, p. 1 a.) It was because he feared that this sequence of events might be fatal to himself that Hou Ching suddenly marched in open rebellion on Nanking. After his defeat the Northeast, then ruled by Kao Yang, sent Ming south in 555 in the hope that he might become a puppet ruler. He was able to enter the ruins of Nanking and declare himself, but his partisans were soon defeated by the surviving Liang generals.

¹⁷⁹) The title of WS, xcvi and xcvi.

¹⁸⁰) PCS, xxxviii, p. 1 b. "He served as deputy under Wang Hsin [*ibid.*, xxxi] on an embassy to the Liang. Hsin had taste and a critical ability in letters, while Shou's literary style was opulent and easy. The Liang ruler and courtiers all respected and admired them. The first mission to go south after peace had been concluded had been headed by Li Hsieh and Lu Yüan-ming [in 537; WS, lxv, pp. 9 b—10 b, and xlvii, pp. 7 b—8 a]. These two men's talents, too, had been esteemed in that neighboring land. Now the Liang ruler said: 'Lu and Li were so renowned in the days of the restoration of the royal Wei that it was hard to imagine any successors like them.' Li's biography quotes his conversations with his southern hosts, in which his boasts ran from the weather at Yeh to the high qualifications of the Wei ruler's advisers.

¹⁸¹) NS, liii, p. 9 a.

¹⁸²) See n. 173 above. LS, xxxix, p. 4 b, tells of a certain Yang Pao, grandson of one of the original P'eng-ch'eng turncoats, who fled south again in the chaos of the 520's. In 540 he entertained two Wei envoys, his former fellow-students. At a luxurious banquet he provided "there were over 300 guests. The utensils were all of gold and jade. Three girl orchestras were provided; at nightfall 100 or more slave girls brought in gold flower-lamps."

¹⁸³) PCS, xxix, p. 1 b.

¹⁸⁴) *Ibid.*, xxx, p. 2 b.

¹⁸⁵) *Ibid.*, xxxvii, p. 1 b and 5 a.

¹⁸⁶) WS, xii, p. 7 b.

¹⁸⁷) The biographies of Hsing, Jen, and Shen appear in PCS, xxxvi, LS, xiv, and LS, xiii. The plagiarism charge is made in Wei's biography; PCS, xxxvii, pp. 4 b—5 a.

¹⁸⁸) Yen Shih Chia Hsün, vii; in the Kuo Hsüeh Chi Pen Ts'ung-shu edition of Shanghai, 1939, p. 180. Yen's biography is in PCS, xlv, pp. 7 b—9 b; he claimed to be a descendant in the 9th generation from a Chin dynasty grandee.

¹⁸⁹) *Ibid.*, p. 182. Li-tai MHC, i, 2, on "the Vicissitudes of Painting" refers to this catastrophe, claiming that 4000 or more rolls of calligraphy and painting were saved from the burning of the Privy Library and carried off to Ch'ang-an. See translation by W. Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts on Chinese Painting*, Leyden, 1954, pp. 119—23.

¹⁹⁰) Li-tai MHC, vii, under Liang painters; Yen Shih CH, p. 182, for Fang-teng, the "Wu-lieh Crown Prince".

¹⁹¹) PCS, xxxiii, p. 2 a; Li-tai MHC, viii. Another grandnephew of Liang Wu Ti, K'ai, is said to have come to Yeh as "the best calligrapher in the South"; PCS, xlv, p. 2 b.

¹⁹²) *Ibid.*, xi, p. 1 b; Li-tai MHC, viii.

¹⁹³) PCS, xxxviii, p. 1 b. Hsin was one of the two court architects responsible for the new palace and city at Yeh.

¹⁹⁴) Li-tai MHC, ii and viii, quoting from the 7th cent. monk-critic Yen-ts'ung. Ts'ao is mentioned in a nakedly fictitious story about the transmission of a new type of Amidist picture to China, in Tao-hsüan's *Chi Shen Chou SPKTL*, ii, p. 421 a (my note 10 above) as the Chinese copyist employed. All of the literary sources for his career are analysed by P. Pelliot in *Les fresques de Touen-houang* [etc.], *Rev. des arts asiatiques*, V, 1927, pp. 152—63, 193—200.

¹⁹⁵) Paraphrased from the late 11th cent. T'u-hua Chien-wen Chih, i, "On the Styles and Methods of Ts'ao and Wu"; see my translation, *Kuo Jo-hsü's Experiences in Painting*, Washington, 1951, p. 17. Pelliot, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

¹⁹⁶) Pelliot argues convincingly, pp. 159—63, that the Master Yüan named in Li-tai MHC, ii, 1, and viii as Ts'ao's model can hardly have been Yüan Ang of the Liang (who was probably not a painter at all, as his biography in LS, xxxi, suggests by its silence), but rather the almost unknown Yüan Tzu-ang whose name was remembered in connection with frescoes done — at the end of Chou or in early Sui? — at Ch'ang-an and Lo-yang. A similar vagueness surrounds the name of Chou T'an-yen, called in Li-tai MHC, vii a Southern Ch'i painter who "instructed Ts'ao"; because of the chronological gap Pelliot supposes he must have been instead a Northern Ch'i figure. He argues effectively against the T'ang tradition that Ts'ao was a Sogdian (pp. 158 ff.).

¹⁹⁷) Li-tai MHC, iii, 4, under the Ch'ang-an temple Ting-shui-ssu and T'ien-kung-ssu at Lo-yang; Acker, pp. 289, 305—06.

¹⁹⁸) Li-tai MHC, vii.

¹⁹⁹) By Hsü Sung; p. 17 b in the Kan edition of 1912. Soper, *Literary Evidence*, p. 81 n. 69.

²⁰⁰) Li-tai MHC, ii, 2; Acker, pp. 178—84.

²⁰¹) See note 199.

²⁰²) See note 198; Soper, pp. 195—96.

²⁰³) The "old" *Avatamsaka Sūtra*, translated in 420—21 by the Indian missionary Buddhahadra.

²⁰⁴) His first great follower in secular painting, Cheng Fa-shih, listed as a Sui master who had earlier served the Chou, is also called the one preeminent painter of the Yangtse area after Chang's time; perhaps, therefore, his fame was first won at Chiang-ling under the Chou's puppet regime of Posterior Liang, or even before that city's capture. One of his later treasured pictures, an "Asokan Royal Image", may well have been a copy of a famous cult image there: see pp. 000—000 below. Sun Shang-tzu from Chekiang, another top Sui artist, continued Chang's penchant for fantastic subjects; conceivably the "struggling brush style" by which he was remembered was an outgrowth of Chang's dynamic draftsmanship. In early T'ang Yen Li-pen followed the Liang master's lead in recording both the orthodox and the exotic aspects of court life; the T'ang critics were divided as to which was the greater. As to Wu Tao-tzu, there was a general agreement that he must have been a reincarnation of Chang. The 7th cent. Fan Ch'ang-shou also apparently studied Chang's work as a landscapist. A description of his scenery indicates a fondness for three-dimensional effects that may well have been encouraged by his great predecessor's example (see my translation of the 9th cent. T'ang Ch'ao Ming Hua Lu, *Art. As.*, XXI, 3—4, 1958, p. 222).

²⁰⁵) From the early 11th cent. *Wu Tai Ming Hua Pu-i* by Liu Tao-shun; translated by Acker, p. 281, n.

²⁰⁶) See n. 200.

²⁰⁷) See n. 174; and Yen Shih CH, p. 191. Hsiao Lun's life is given in LS, xxix, pp. 2 b—4 b.

²⁰⁸) Biographies in LS, xxxiii, and in Ch'S, xxvi. Sui Shu, lxxvi, p. 1 b, speaks disapprovingly of this trend in literature as shallow, over-complicated, obscure, etc.

²⁰⁹) Soper, *op. cit.*, pp. 81—82, from Li-tai MHC, vii.

²¹⁰) LS, ii and iii.

²¹¹) *Ibid*, liv, pp. 7 a—8 a. For "Central India" the monarch's name noted is merely a transliteration of "Gupta"; the geographical definition of the land as "several thousand *li* southeast of the Great Yüeh-chih" or Kushan empire, is both vague and long out of date. The much more plausible-sounding name given the Sinhalese king has been interpreted as applying to Silākāla (r. 518—31); see S. Paranavitana in *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, V, 1, 1955, pp. 86 ff. I owe this last information to the kindness of Dr. D. T. Devendra.

- ²¹²) Bagchi, *op. cit.*, p. 418; Hsü Kao SC, i, p. 429 c.
- ²¹³) Soper, *op. cit.*, pp. 59, 64, 74; NCS, lviii, p. 5 a and LS, liv, p. 2 b. See also Pelliot, "Le royaume de Fou-nan", BEFEO, III, 1903, pp. 248 ff.; and L. P. Briggs, *The Ancient Khmer Empire*, Tra. of the Am. Philos. Soc., ns. XLI, 1951, pp. 24 ff.
- ²¹⁴) Soper, pp. 74—75.
- ²¹⁵) Bagchi, *op. cit.*, pp. 414—15, 431—32.
- ²¹⁶) NCS, lviii, p. 3 b; LS, liv, p. 2 a.
- ²¹⁷) Ch'eng-tu etc., pl. 1.
- ²¹⁸) Sirén, *Sculpture*, pls. 198, 200 A.
- ²¹⁹) Soper, p. 128; Pelliot, *Grottes*, pl. CCLVII.
- ²²⁰) D. Barrett, *Sculptures from Amarāvati in the British Museum*, London, 1954, pl. XXIII; R. E. Banerji, *Bas-reliefs of Bādāmi*, Arch. Surv. of India Mem., XXV, 1928, pls. IV c, VII, pp. 3, 5, 14; or P. Brown, *Indian Architecture (Buddhist and Hinduist)*, Bombay, n. d., pl. XXXIX fig. 2.
- ²²¹) Ch'eng-tu etc., pl. 8.
- ²²²) See M. L. D'Ancona, *Amarāvati, Ceylon, and Three 'Imported Buddhas'*, Art Bull., XXXIV, 1, 1952; and more recently D. Barrett, *The Later School of Amarāvati and its Influences*, Art and Letters, India, Pakistan, Ceylon, XXVIII, 2, 1954, pp. 49—50. B. Rowland, *The Art and Architecture of India*, London etc., 1953, pp. 213—14, notes with reference to this type the fact that Sinhalese missions carried Buddha images to Nanking at the end of Chin and the beginning of Sung (see my *Literary Evidence*, pp. 29, 40), and that "it is possible that they may have exerted some influence on south Chinese sculpture during the Six Dynasties Period".
- ²²³) LS, liv, pp. 5 b—6 a.
- ²²⁴) Ch'eng-tu etc., fig. 6.
- ²²⁵) *Ibid.*, fig. 9. The prince was one of the 13 sons of the king-maker Yü-wen T'ai; CS, xiii, pp. 1 b—2 a.
- ²²⁶) But see below, p. 000.
- ²²⁷) M. A. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, Oxford, 1907, pp. 489 ff., discussing his nos. Rlvi etc., on the outer wall of the enclosure. For the "first image" see Soper, *op. cit.*, pp. 259—65.
- ²²⁸) Matsumoto M., "Origin of the Konin Sculptural Style" (in Japanese), Kokka nos. 718, 719, 721, 1951—52.
- ²²⁹) Soper, *op. cit.*, pp. xiii—xv and under "Aśoka".
- ²³⁰) *Ibid.*, pp. 22 ff., quoting at the start from T'an-i's biography in Kao SC, v, pp. 355 c—356 a.
- ²³¹) *Ibid.*, p. 28, quoting from Hsü Kao SC, xvi, p. 556 b.
- ²³²) *Ibid.*, pp. 29—29, quoting from Fa Yüan Chu Lin, xiv, p. 392 c. See also n. 205 above re Cheng Fa-shih.
- ²³³) Mizuno and Nagahiro, *Ryūmon*, pl. 67.
- ²³⁴) Soper, *op. cit.*, p. 23.
- ²³⁵) Sickman and Soper, *The Art and Architecture of China*, Baltimore, 1956, pl. 45 A; also Sirén, *Sculpture*, pls. 253, 328, 330.
- ²³⁶) Referred to with a contemptuous brevity in PCS, 1, the chapter on Imperial Favorites.
- ²³⁷) For the sculptures in general see Mizuno and Nagahiro, *The Buddhist Cave-temples of Hsiang-t'ang-ssu* (in Japanese with English summary), Kyōto, 1937; and Tokiwa D. and Sekino T., *Shina Bukkyō Shiseki*, Tōkyō, 1927, II, pls. 75 ff. A Ming stele claims that the caves were opened in 565; an inscription preserved outside a cave of the northern group, dated 572, tells of the copying of *sūtra* passages from 566 on, over the walls outside an existing cave. The Japanese consider the southern group the later, perhaps all postdating 565.
- ²³⁸) See K. R. Srinivasan, *The Pallava Architecture of South India*, Ancient India, XIV, 1958, with many plates, where the "Mamalla style" is attributed to Nārasimhavarman I (r. 630—65); also A. H. Longhurst, *Pallava Architecture*, ASI Memoirs, XVII, 1924, pp. 8—10.
- ²³⁹) Photographs of the Freer reliefs by permission of the gallery; their presumed original position in Cave II of the southern group is discussed by Mizuno and Nagahiro, pp. 21—22 (of the Japanese text). For the Javanese reliefs, see N. J. Krom and Van Erp, *Beschrijving van Barabudur*, The Hague, 1920, II, ser. iv, pls. xiii (25) and vi (12) and accompanying text descriptions. The stone that resembles the Freer Paradise is called "Homage Paid to Samantabhadra".

³⁴⁰⁾ G. Yazdani, *Ajaṇṭā*, London, 1955, IV, pls. XXXVIII–XL and text p. 66 ff. The three superimposed registers show, in descending order: Śākyamuni preaching in Tusita; His descent to Earth; and His preaching on Earth.

³⁴¹⁾ The inscription unfortunately records merely the construction of a "Treasure Pagoda", Pao-t'a, for an unknown "Southern Kuang-feng Temple", Kuang-feng-nan-ssu.

³⁴²⁾ E. g. the central figure of the Kansas city stele of 569 (Sickman and Soper, pl. 39 A); and the Buddha of Hsiang-t'ang Shan type once owned by Yamanaka in Peking (Mizuno and Nagahiro, *Hsiang-t'ang-ssu*, p. 45, fig. 30).

³⁴³⁾ The rubbing illustrated in fig. 22, though valuable for my argument, has been relegated to the end since it was not certain that the very poor photograph would reproduce clearly enough to be of any value. The source is a cheaply printed book of rubbings in 2 *chüan*, entitled *Han Hua* 漢畫, edited by a certain Ti P'ing-tzu 狄平子, without indication of date or place; possibly it was published in unoccupied China during the Sino-Japanese war. The same rubbing reappears in *Ch'eng-tu* etc., pl. 31, in a blurred impression which shows largely illegible writing in ink in the vacant areas of the paper. The text, p. 3 and table of figures, states that the stone is dated the 2nd year of the Sung era Yüan-chia (427). It was found at the Wan-fo-ssu site in a preliminary dig undertaken in 1882 by the antiquarian Wang I-jung 王懿榮. His *T'ien-jang-ko Tsa-chi* 天壩閣雜記 records the discovery, but mentions only the find of a Yüan-chia stone, among others. No description is given in *Ch'eng-tu* etc., which however goes on to say that the piece, "the finest of all those unearthed, with a refined beauty seldom seen among the stone carvings of Szechwan, was unfortunately stolen by agents of French imperialism". Its present whereabouts seem to be unknown. The main area of the stone apparently illustrates scenes from the Lotus Sutra. One can make out at least two of the perils from which Avalokiteśvara promises rescue: the threatened shipwreck, and the executioner's sword (at the center). The relevance of the work to this paper lies generally in the skill with which the scenes are disposed in landscape, and specifically in the fact that a swooping apsaras just left of the ship is drawn with the ethereal, scarf-trailing style — the "Northern Wei style" — which in the North was to become common only after another century had elapsed.

CHINESE GLOSSARY

- | | |
|---|-------------------------|
| 1. Chang Seng-ta | 30. Feng, Lady |
| 2. Chang Seng-yu | 31. Feng Ch'ung |
| 3. Chao Wen-shen | 32. Feng Fang |
| 4. Cheng-chüeh-ssu | 33. Feng Hsi |
| 5. Cheng Fa-shih | 34. Feng Hung |
| 6. Cheng Hsi | 35. Feng Lang |
| 7. Chi-chou | 36. Feng Mo |
| 8. Chi Shen Chou San Pao Kan-t'ung Lu | 37. Feng Pa |
| 9. Chiang Ke | 38. Fu Chien |
| 10. Chiang Shao-yu | 39. Fu-nan |
| 11. Chien, Prince | 40. Fu Yung |
| 12. Chien-k'ang Shih-lu | 41. Hou Ching |
| 13. Chin-yang | 42. Hsi-chün |
| 14. Chou T'an-yen | 43. Hsi-ch'eng-chün |
| 15. Chung-li | 44. Hsia-hou Tao-ch'ien |
| 16. Ch'ang-sha-ssu | 45. Hsiang-t'ang Shan |
| 17. Ch'en-liu, Prince of, Ch'ien | 46. Hsiao Cheng-piao |
| 18. Ch'eng-tu Wan-fo-ssu Shih K'e I-shu | 47. Hsiao Ch'io |
| 19. Ch'eng Yen | 48. Hsiao Fan |
| 20. Ch'i-chou | 49. Hsiao Fan |
| 21. Ch'u San Tsang Chi Chi | 50. Hsiao Fang-teng |
| 22. Erh-chu Jung | 51. Hsiao Kan |
| 23. Fa-ching | 52. Hsiao Lun |
| 24. Fa-lin | 53. Hsiao Ming |
| 25. Fa Yüan Chu Lin | 54. Hsiao Pao-yin |
| 26. Fan Chen | 55. Hsiao Ta-lien |
| 27. Fan Ch'ang-shou | 56. Hsiao Tsung |
| 28. Fan Ning-erh | 57. Hsiao Tzu-liang |
| 29. Fan Yün | 58. Hsiao Tzu-yün |

- 1 張僧達 2 張僧鑑 3 趙文深 4 正覺寺 5 鄭法士 6 鄭義
 7 濟州 8 集神州三寶感通錄 9 江革 10 蔣少游 11 鑒 12 建
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| 59. Hsieh, Prince | 88. Kuo Jo-hsü |
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| 61. Hsing Shao | 90. Li An-shih |
| 62. Hsiung An-sheng | 91. Li Ch'ung |
| 63. Hsü Kao Seng Chuan | 92. Li Hsiao-pai |
| 64. Hsü Ling | 93. Li Hsieh |
| 65. Hsü Sung | 94. Li Hsien |
| 66. Hsüeh An-tu | 95. Li Hsin |
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| 68. Hui-yü | 97. Li Piao |
| 69. Hung Ming Chi | 98. Li-tai Ming Hua Chi |
| 70. I-ch'eng-ssu | 99. Liao-hsi-chün |
| 71. I Hun | 100. Lieh Tsu |
| 72. I-lieh | 101. Lin-i |
| 73. I-nan Ku Hua Hsiang Shih Mu Fa-chüeh
Pao-kao | 102. Ling-yen-ssu |
| 74. Jan Min | 103. Liu Chen |
| 75. Jen Fang | 104. Liu Ch'ang |
| 76. Kao Chao | 105. Liu Fa-wu |
| 77. Kao Hsiao-heng | 106. Liu Hsiu-p'in |
| 78. Kao Huan | 107. Liu Hsün |
| 79. Kao Seng Chuan | 108. Liu Tsuan |
| 80. Kao Teng | 109. Liu Yü |
| 81. Kao Tsun | 110. Lo-ling, Duke of |
| 82. Kao Yang | 111. Lo Sun |
| 83. Kao Yün | 112. Lo-yang Ch'ieh-lan Chi |
| 84. Kuang-feng-nan-ssu | 113. Lu Ch'ang |
| 85. Kuang Hung Ming Chi | 114. Lu Yüan-ming |
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118. Mu-jung Yung
 119. Mu T'ai
 120. Pi Chung-ching
 121. Pien Cheng Lun
 122. P'an-p'an
 123. P'ei Chih
 124. P'ei Liao
 125. P'ei Shu-yeh
 126. P'eng-ch'eng
 127. P'ing-ch'eng
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 129. P'o-li
 130. Seng-hu
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 145. Su-ma Ch'u-chih
 146. Su Yen
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 149. Sung Pien
 150. Sung-wang-szu
 151. Sung Yün
 152. Tai
 153. Tai K'uei
 154. Tai Yung
 155. Tan-tan kuo
 156. Tao-hsüan
 157. Tao-shih
 158. Ting-shui-szu
 159. Tsu Ying
 160. Tu Yü
 161. Tung-p'ing-chün
 162. T'ai P'ing Yü Lan
 163. T'an-i
 164. T'an-yao
 165. T'ang Ch'ao Ming Hua Lu
 166. T'ien-an
 167. T'ien-kung-szu
 168. T'o-pa Kuei
 169. T'o-pa Mu-ch'en
 170. T'o-pa Yü-lü
 171. T'u-hua Chien-wen Chih
 172. Ts'ai Tao-kung
 173. Ts'ao Chung-ta
 174. Ts'ui Hsien
 175. Ts'ui Hao
 176. Ts'ui Kuang

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 124裴救 125裴叔業 126彭城 127平城 128平文帝 129婆利國
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 約 137師賢 138石虎 139十六國春秋 140世說新語 141壽春
 142壽陽 143水經注 144思義 145司馬楚之 146思燕 147思遠 148孫尚
 子 149宋弁 150宋王寺 151宋雲 152代 153戴遠 154戴顓
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 畫見聞誌 172蔡道恭 173曹仲達 174崔暹 175崔浩 176崔光

177. Ts'ui Liang
 178. Ts'ui Tao-ku
 179. Ts'ui Ting
 180. Ts'ui Yüan-tsu
 181. Wa-kuan-ssu
 182. Wan of Pi
 183. Wan-fo-ssu
 184. Wang Chung-te
 185. Wang Hsin
 186. Wang Huan
 187. Wang Hui-lung
 188. Wang Pao
 189. Wang Seng-ju
 190. Wang Su
 191. Wang Yu
 192. Wang Yung
 193. Wei Lo-hou
 194. Wei Shou
 195. Wei To-hou

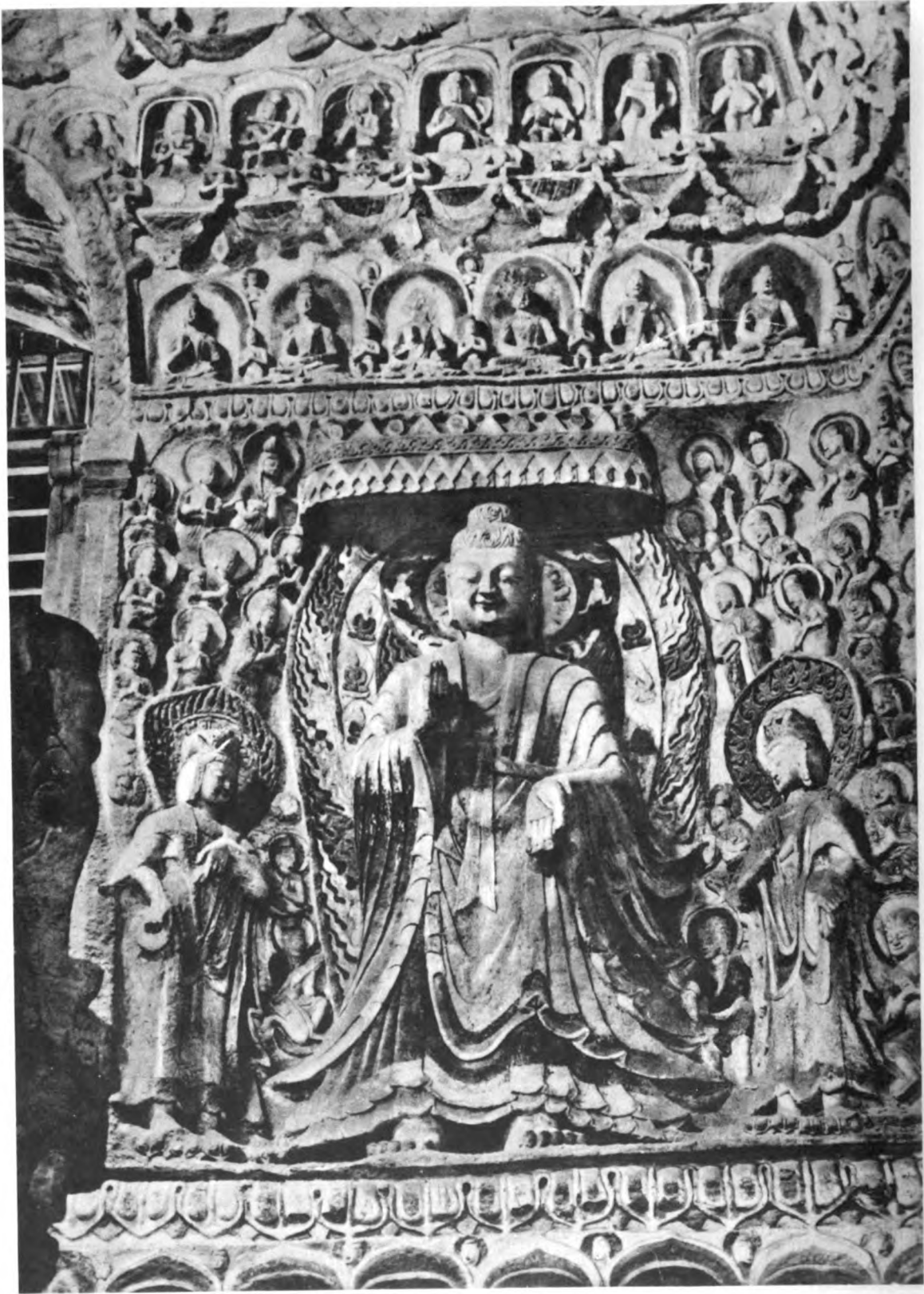
196. Wu Tai Ming Hua Pu-i
 197. Yang Hsüan-chih
 198. Yang Hui-chih
 199. Yang K'an
 200. Yao Hsüan
 201. Yeh
 202. Yen Chih-t'ui
 203. Yen, Prince Hsüan of
 204. Yen-hsien
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- Fig. 12. South Hsiang-t'ang-shan, cave I, main Buddha
- Fig. 13. Birmingham Museum: copper Buddha from Sultāngañj. Reproduced by permission of the museum
- Fig. 14. South Hsiang-t'ang-shan, cave V, entrance
- Fig. 15. Bhairavakonda, temple 7, entrance
- Fig. 16. Washington, Freer Gallery: relief from Hsiang-t'ang-shan. Reproduced by permission of the gallery
- Fig. 17. Washington, Freer Gallery: relief from Hsiang-t'ang-shan. Reproduced by permission of the gallery
- Fig. 18. Barabudur, relief from Samantabhadra tier
- Fig. 19. Barabudur, relief from Samantabhadra tier
- Fig. 20. Rubbing from Northern Ch'i inscription of 558
- Fig. 21. Hanoi Museum: bronze Buddha from Dong-duong
- Fig. 22. Ch'eng—tu; rubbing of stele of 427 from the Wan-fo-ssu site (see note 243)





















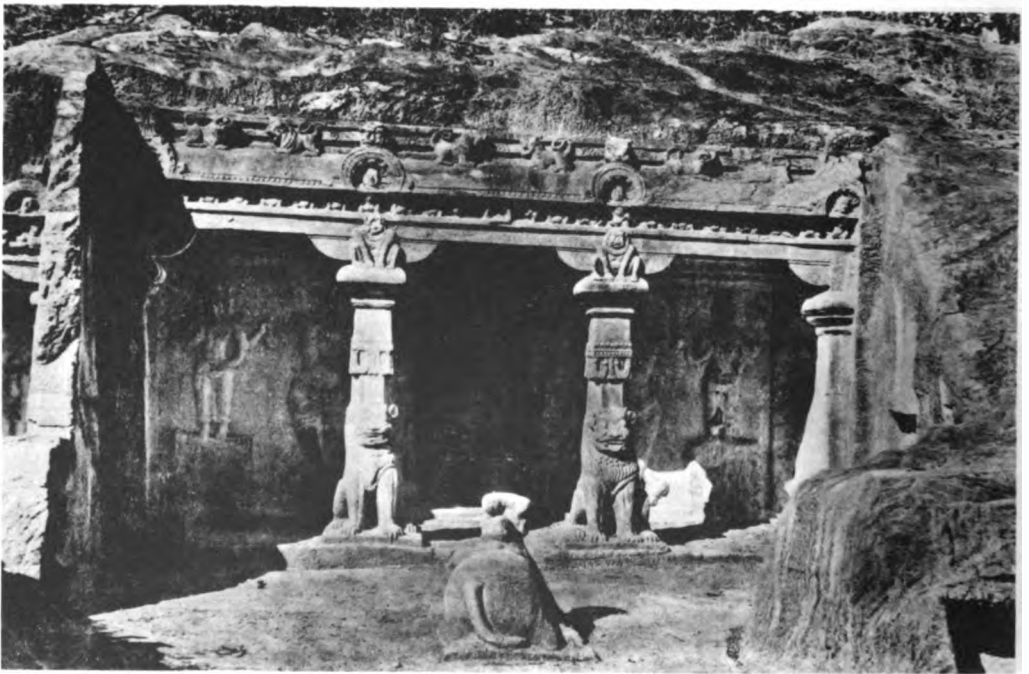








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TONES IN ARCHAIC CHINESE

BY

BERNHARD KARLGREN

The question whether Archaic Chinese possessed tones (musical accents) and, if it did, how many tone-classes can be distinguished in that language has been a subject for much discussion ever since the time of the great Ts'ing philologists and up to recent years. In the present paper I shall not go into an examination and critique of the many theories advanced by my predecessors but shall simply state the facts as I see them.

The tones of Ancient Chinese (around 600 A. D.) are well known as far as the distribution of the words over the four tone-classes is concerned, through Ts'ie yün and King tien shī wen. We know in respect of every word of the language of the capital in Sui and early T'ang time whether it had p'ing, shang, k'ü or ju sheng and, moreover, we know the tone variations which many words underwent when used with particular meanings, aberrant from their "basic" one.

The musical quality of the said four tones in Sui and T'ang time (principally in the language of the capital Ch'ang-an) is less certain, but fairly safe conclusions may be drawn from their denominations in the terminology of the ancient scholars. That p'ing-sheng the "even (level) tone" really is a name depicting the quality, is quite evident. There can be no doubt that the ancient p'ing-sheng was identical in quality with the modern "first tone" (shang-p'ing-sheng) in Pekinese.

The term shang-sheng is more dubious. The words might mean either "the rising tone" (shang being a verb) or "the upper tone" (shang being an adjective). We know, however, that the word shang had the Anc. 2nd tone when it was the verb and the 3rd tone when it was the adjective, and there has been a reliable tradition ever since T'ang time that in the binome shang-sheng it should be read in the 2nd tone (verb); therefore the translation "rising tone" is the correct one. The modern descendant of the Anc. shang-sheng is a vigorously rising tone in many dialects — in Peking a brokenly rising tone, the rising part being long and drawn-out. There is thus a strong probability that the Anc. name shang-sheng was really meant to depict a rising tone.

The term k'ü-sheng is more uncertain. It has sometimes been asserted that it cannot mean a "falling tone", since such a tone ought to have been called hia-sheng "the down-going tone" as a counterpart to the shang-sheng the "up-going tone". But it was pointed out long ago that the word hia could

not be used in the nomenclature because *h i a* (Anc. *ya*) itself had the *s h a n g - s h e n g*, and the ancient grammarians wished that the words forming the names of the tones should themselves illustrate these tones. For this reason they chose for the 3rd tone the word *k' ü* "go away", which itself belongs to the 3rd tone-class.

The modern descendant of the Anc. *k' ü - s h e n g* is a falling tone in Pekinese and many more dialects but it has various other melodies (even, rising or circumflex) in a great many other dialects. Is it probable that here, as well, Pekinese has preserved the melody of the Anc. *k' ü - s h e n g*? In answering this question we have, again, to draw conclusions from the nomenclature. The Pekinese *k' ü - s h e n g*, falling tone, starts with full intensity at a high pitch, and descends, with decreasing intensity, to a much lower pitch. The *k' ü - s h e n g*, the "going-away tone, dwindling tone" is indeed an excellent illustrative name for it. It seems reasonable to admit that the scholars who invented the term *k' ü - s h e n g* for their 3rd tone had a similar melody to describe and found the words *k' ü - s h e n g* adequate for illustrating its quality.

The *j u - s h e n g* "entering tone", i. e. abrupt tone, for words ending in *-p*, *-t*, *-k* offers no problem.

So much for the tones in Ancient Chinese. They have been carefully recorded for every word (basic tone and sometimes varied tone) in my *Grammata Serica Recensa*.

The tone conditions in *Archaic Chinese* are far more problematic. I have always stated, in my earlier writings, that a detailed knowledge of the *Archaic* tones cannot be gained for lack of sufficient sources. Hence, in *Grammata Serica*, I have never tried to indicate tones for the individual *Arch.* words.

This, however, does not mean that we can know nothing of the tone-classes in a more general way, though the individual words cannot be attributed to a definite *Arch.* tone-class (except, perhaps, in the case of a few scores of words).

The only source available which could afford us some insight into the true conditions in *Arch. Chinese* is the rimes in *Archaic* poetry, a fact realized long ago by the Chinese philologists. The *modus operandi* has been — quite correctly — to apply the well-known Ancient Chinese tones (*p' i n g*, *s h a n g*, *k' ü*, *j u*) to the rime words of the *Shi-king* and then ascertain whether some pattern appears which reveals the classes in the *Archaic* language.

In point of principle it should be strongly emphasized that in the procedure of this research we must take into account *positive* evidence only, not *negative* evidence. This is indeed highly important. If we find a stanza (*Ode 94 a*) riming:¹⁾

d'wán⁻ : *·i'wǎn'* : *ngi'wǎn'* 導婉願

¹⁾ When we write *d'wán*⁻, *·i'wǎn'* etc., it only means that the *Arch.* **d'wán* in question in *A n c i e n t Chinese* had the even tone (*p' i n g - s h e n g*); that the *Arch.* **·i'wǎn* was a word which in *Anc. Chin.* had the rising tone (*s h a n g - s h e n g*); etc.

we are not authorized to conclude from the fact that these three words could rime with each other that they had no tone distinctions in Arch. Chinese. The example may only mean that the poet in this case disregarded the tonal difference between those words and found them sufficiently similar, on the ground of vowels and consonants, to warrant a rime. There are many parallels to this. Swedish is one of the few Indo-European languages which, like Chinese, have musical accents (tones); it distinguishes *büren* ('the cage') from *bùren* ('carried') by the tone only. Now, it is quite common in the best Swedish poetry to rime irrespective of the tones. One of our greatest poets, Gustaf Fröding (dead 1911), rimed *dungen* ('the grove'): *kungen* ('the king'). The equally prominent poet Viktor Rydberg (dead 1895) rimed *tåken* ('the roofs'): *våken* ('awake').

On the other hand, if we find a stanza (Ode 115 b) with the rime series:

k'óg' : nìóg' : sóg', k'óg'; póg' 考 杻 埽 考 保

the fact that all the rime words were such as had the rising tone (*s h a n g - s h e n g*) in Anc. Chin. and that this stanza thus had what I should like to call a "pure one-tone set of rime words" is highly significant. If it should turn out that in some extensive rimed Archaic texts such "pure one-tone sets of rime words" are common or even preponderant, then this is *positive* evidence of the highest value: it would show that the poets in question were to a large extent so meticulous that they demanded congruence not only in principal vowels and final consonants but in *tones* as well. By the aid of such texts we could ascertain certain tone-classes in Arch. Chinese.

We shall base our inquiry on two texts, one from early Chou time, the other from middle Chou time.

The first is the Kuo-feng section of the Shī-king.¹⁾

The second is a certain part of the Yi-king. In the paragraphs called Siang 象 there are a long series of phrases ending in *ye* of the type (Kua 2):

Liu er chī tung, chī yi *fang ye*

Pu si wu pu li, ti tao *kuang ye*.

六二之動。直以方也。○○不習无不利。地道光也

These X X *ye* sentences, if extracted and read by themselves, really form a long rimed poem.²⁾

* * *

¹⁾ The Kuo-feng is more advanced and perfected in its versification than the other three Shī king sections: it has fewer exceptions from the regular rhythmical pattern than they and a stricter riming, with fewer hedge rimes. Grammatically it is likewise somewhat more advanced: it lacks, for instance (but for an isolated exception), some grammatical words which play an important rôle in Siao-ya, Ta-

ya and Sung: 厥時侯攸式肆

²⁾ There is a printed version of the Yi-king which is so arranged that these poetical parts are easily distinguished from the rest: Z. D. Sung, The Text of the Yi King (and its Appendixes), Chinese Original with English Translation, Shanghai 1935.

The rime system in the Kuo-feng is highly revealing.

In the first place, we find a very large number of cases in which there is a pure one-tone set of rime words of the kind that in Anc. Chin. had *p'ing-sheng*, the even tone; such sets have from two up to nine rime words. There are no less than 274 such cases in the Kuo-feng. We shall adduce here, as examples, those in the first 25 odes only, the rest being easily looked up in the Stockholm edition of the Odes.¹⁾ All of these rime words had the Anc. *p'ing-sheng*.

- 1 a. *k'îôg : î'îôg : g'îôg* (kiu : chou : k'iu).
- 1 b. *l'îôg : g'îôg* (liu : k'iu).
- 2 a. *ts'iar : piwər : kər* (ts'i : fei : kie).
- 2 c. *kiwər : siər : iər* (kuei : si : yi).
- 3 a. *k'îwang : g'ǎng* (k'uang : hing).
- 3 b. *ngwər : d'wər : lwər : g'wər* (wei : t'uei : lei : huai).
- 3 c. *kǎng : g'wǎng : kwǎng : śiǎng* (kang : huang : kuang : shang).
- 3 d. *ts'io : d'o : p'wo : χiwo* (ts'ü : t'u : p'u : hü).
- 4 a. *liwər : sni'wər* (lei : suei).
- 4 b. *χmwǎng : tsiǎng* (huang : tsiang).
- 4 c. *i'wǎng : d'ǐǎng* (jung : ch'eng).
- 5 a. *śien : î'ien* (shen : chen).
- 5 b. *χmwǎng : d'ǐǎng* (hung : sheng).
- 6 a. *g'wǎ : kǎ* (hua : kia).
- 6 c. *ts'ǐǎn : n'ǐǎn* (chen : jen).
- 7 a'' *tsiǎ : piwo* (tsie : fu).
- 7 a. *tǐǎng : d'ǐǎng* (cheng : ch'eng).
- 7 b. *g'iwǎg : g'îôg* (k'uei : k'iu).
- 7 c. *gliǎm : siǎm* (lin : sin).
- 9 a. *χîôg : g'îôg* (hiu : k'iu).
- 9 c. *gliu : k'iu* (lü : kü).
- 10 a. *mwər : kiər* (mei : ki).
- 12 b. *piwang : tsiǎng* (fang : tsiang).
- 12 c. *d'ǐǎng : d'ǐǎng* (ying : ch'eng).
- 13 b. *t'îông : k'îông* (chung : kung).
- 13 c. *d'ung : kung* (t'ung : kung).
- 13 c. *g'ier : kiwər* (k'i : kuei).
- 14 a. *d'îông : t'îông : t'îông : g'ǎng* (ch'ung : chung : ch'ung : hiang).
- 14 c. *miwər : piər : d'ier* (wei : pei : yi).
- 15 a. *b'ǐǎn : piǐǎn* (p'in : pin).
- 17 c. *ngǎ : kǎ* (ya : kia).
- 18 a. *b'ia : d'ǎ : d'ia* (p'i : t'o : yi).
- 18 c. *b'ung : tsung : kung* (feng : tsung : kung).
- 19 a. *d'iang : g'wǎng* (yang : huang).

¹⁾ Bernhard Karlgren, *The Book of Odes*, Stockholm 1950 (Chinese text with translation, transcription in Mandarin and the rime words given in their Archaic readings).

- 20 b. *səm : kɿəm* (san : kin).
 21 a. *sieng : i̯iəŋ* (sing : cheng).
 21 a. *tung : kung : d'ung* (tung : kung : t'ung).
 22 c. *d'á : kwá : ká* (t'o : kuo : ko).
 23 a. *kɿwən : i̯'iwən* (kūn : ch'un).
 24 a. *g'wá : kɿo* (hua : kū).
 24 c. *mɿən : swən* (min : sun).
 25 a. *ká : pá : ngiwo* (kia : pa : yü).
 25 b. *b'ung : tsung* (p'eng : tsung).

1a 鳩洲述	1b 流求	2a 萋飛啗	2c 歸私衣
3a 隍行	3b 嵬隤疊懷	3c 岡黃肱傷	3d 硯瘡痛吁
4a 纍綏	4b 荒將	4c 縈成	5a 詵振
5b 薨繩	6a 華家	6c 蕤人	7a 萱夫
7a 丁城	7b 逵仇	7c 林心	9a 休求
9c 萋駒	10a 枚飢	12b 方將	12c 盈成
13b 中宮	13c 僮公	13c 祁歸	14a 蟲螽忡降
14c 薇悲夷	15c 蘋濱	17c 牙家	18a 皮純蛇
18c 縫總公	19a 陽惶	20b 三今	21a 星征
21a 東公同	22c 沲過歌	23a 腐春	24a 華車
24c 緄孫	25a 葭駝虞	25b 蓬豸	

Further cases in the Kuo-feng are: Ode 26 e, 27 b, c, d, 28 b, c, d, 29 c, 30 b, d, 31 a, e, 32 a (bis), b, d, 33 b, c, d, 34 b, 35 a, b, f, 36 a, b, 37 c, 38 d, 39 a, c, d (bis), 40 a (bis), c, 41 a (bis), b, c, 42 a, 43 c, 45 a (ter), 46 b, 47 a, c, 49 a, b (bis), 50 a, b, c, 51 c, 52 a, 53 a, b, c, 54 a (bis), c, d, 55 a, b, 56 b, 57 a, b, c, 58 a, b, e, 59 a, d, 60 a, 61 b, 62 a, b, 63 a, 64 a, b, 65 a (ter), 66 a, 67 a, b, 68 a (bis), 70 a, c, 71 c, 72 b, 73 b, 74 a, 75 a, 76 b, c, 77 a, 78 b, c, 79 a, b, 80 a, 82 b, 83 a (bis), b, 84a, b, 85 b, 86 a, 87 a, 88 b, c, d, 90 a, b, 91 a, 93 a, b, 94 b, 95 a, b, 96 a, b, 97 a, c, 98 b, c, 100 a, b (bis), 101 a, b, 102 a, 103 a, b, c, 104 a, 105 c, d, 106 a, b, 107 a, 108 b, 109 a (bis), 110 c, 111 a, 112 a, c, 113 c, 114 a, c, 115 a, 117 a (bis), 118 a, 121 c, 123 b, 125 a, c, 126 a, c, 127 b (bis), 128 a, b (bis), c, 129 a, b, 130 a, b, 131 a, b, 132 a (bis), 133 a (bis) c, 134 a, 135 a, 137 b, c, 138 a, b, 139 a, c, 140 a, 141 a, 142 a, 144 a, b, 145 a, b, 146 a, b, 147 a, b, 148 a, b, 149 c, 151 d, 152 b, d, 153 a (bis), b, c, 154 b (bis), c, d (ter), f, g (bis), 155 c, d, 156 a (bis), b, c, d, 157 a, b, c, 159 a, c, 160 a, b.

In the second place, there is likewise a very large number of cases in which we find a pure one-tone set of rime words of the kind that in Anc. Chin. had *ju-sheng* (the "entering tone", words ending in *-p*, *-t*, *-k*). These cases number 96. We shall adduce here those in the first 25 Odes.

- 1 b. *tək* : *b'ïūk* : *tsiək* (tê : fu : ts'ê).
 2 a. *kuk* : *muk* (ku : mu).
 2 b. *mák* : *g'wák* : *k'ïäk* : *dïäk* (mo : huo : k'i : yi).
 5 c. *tsiəp* : *d'ïəp* (tsi : chī).
 6 b. *d'ïët* : *sïët* (shī : shī).
 8 b. *twát* : *lwát* (to : lo).
 8 c. *kiet* : *g'iet* (kie : hie).
 11 c. *kūk* : *dz'uk* (küe : tsu).
 14 b. *kïwăt* : *tïwăt* : *dïwăt* (küe : cho : yüe).
 16 a. *b'ïwăt* : *b'wăt* (fa : po).
 17 b. *kūk* : *ūk* : *ngiuk* : *tsiuk* (küe : wu : yü : tsu).
 18 b. *kek* : *giwək* : *d'ïək* (ko : yü : shi).
 19 b. *tsiək* : *sïək* (ts'ê : si).
 20 a. *ts'ïët* : *kïët* (ts'i : ki).
 23 b. *suk* : *luk* : *sïuk* : *ngiuk* (su : lu : shu : yü).

16 得服側	2a 谷木	26 莫漢給數	5c 揖螯
66 寶室	86 掇捋	8c 結禪	11c 角族
146 蕨憒說	16a 伐菱	176 角屋獄足	186 革絨食
196 側息	20a 七吉	236 檉鹿東玉	

Further cases in the Kuo-feng: 26 c, 28 b, 29 d, 31 d, e, 34 a, 35 e, 37 a, 38 c, 40 b, 45 b, 46 c, 48 b, 50 a, 53 c, 54 d, 55 c (bis), 56 c, 57 d, 58 c (bis), d, 60 b, 62 a, c, 63 c, 65 c, 66 b, 69 c, 72 a, 73 c, 74 b, 75 c, 80 b, 85 a, 86 b, 89 b, 91 c, 95 a, 99 a, b, 101 c, d, 102 b, 105 a, 107 a, 108 c, 109 b, 112 b, 113 b, 115 c, 117 b, 121 b, 122 a, b, 124 b, d, 126 b, 127 b, 128 a, 131 a (bis), 132 b, 133 b, 142 b, 147 c, 148 c, 149 a, 150 c, 151 b, 152 a, c, 154 c, d, f, g (bis), 156 b, 158 a, 159 c.

These facts, particularly the numerous pure p'ing - sheng rimes, indicate quite clearly that the Archaic poets had a strong feeling for a *tone-class*, the "Archaic 1st tone", roughly corresponding to the p'ing sheng class in Anc. Chinese, and that they tried to a large extent to keep account of this phenomenon when choosing their rimes. But the real problems begin when we come to the words with Anc. Chin. shang - sheng and k'ü - sheng.

We shall tabulate, in the traditional sequence of the Kuo-feng Odes, all the rimes consisting of words that in Anc. Chin. had shang - sheng and k'ü - sheng (in some cases mixed with p'ing - sheng words). In the column to the left the four Ancient tones will be indicated: p (p'ing) s (shang), k (k'ü) and j (ju).

- s s = 1 c. *ts'əg* : *giŋg* (ts'ai : yu).
 k j = 1 d. *măg* : *glăk* (mao : lo).
 s s = 2 c. *piŋg* : *məg* (fou : mu).
 s s = 8 a. *ts'əg* : *giŋg* (ts'ai : yu).

s s p = 9 a. *kwáng : giwǎng : piwang* (kuang : yung : fang).
 s s = 9 b. *tš'io : mã* (ch'u : ma).
 k k = 10 b. *djəd : k'ied* (yi : k'i).
 s s s = 10 c. *miwər : xiwǎr : niǎr* (wei : huei : er).
 s s = 11 a. *tiəg : tsjəg* (chī : tsī).
 k k = 11 b. *tieng : siəng* (ting : sing).
 p k = 12 a. *kjo : ngǎ* (kü : yü).
 s k = 13 a. *tiəg : dz'jəg* (chī : shī).
 s s = 15 a. *tsog : log* (tsao : lao).
 s s = 15 b. *kljo : b'jwo* (kü : fu).
 s s = 15 c. *g'd : njo* (hia : nü).
 k k = 16 b. *b'wad : k'jad* (pai : k'i).
 k k = 16 c. *pwǎd : siwad* (pai : shuei).
 k k = 17 a. *glǎg : zjag* (lu : ye).
 p k k p = *djung : dzjung : dzjung : dz'jung* (yung : sung : sung : ts'ung).
 s p = 19 a. *tsjəg : tsəg* (tsī : tsai).
 s s = 19 c. *g'd : t'io* (hia : ch'u).
 k k = 20 c. *xiəd : giwǎd* (hi : wei).
 s p p = 21 b. *mlǒg : d'jǒg : zjǒg* (mao : ch'ou : yu).
 s s s = 22 a. *dziəg : zjəg : xmwəg* (sī : yi : huei).
 s s s = 22 b. *t'io : zjo : t'io* (chu : yü : ch'u).
 p s = 23 a. *pǒg : zjǒg* (pao : yu).
 k k k = 23 c. *t'wǎd : siwad : b'iwǎd* (t'uei : shuei : fei).
 s s = 24 b. *liəg : tsjəg* (li : tsī).
 p p p s p = 26 a. *tiǒg : liǒg : jǒg : tsjǒg : diǒg* (chou : liu : yu : tsiu : yu).
 k k = 26 b. *njo : no* (ju : nu).
 k k = 26 b. *kjwag : sǎg* (kü : su).
 s s s = 26 c. *tiwan : kiwan : siwan* (chuan : küan : süan).
 s s s s = 26 d. *ts'jog : sjog : sjog : b'jog* (ts'iao : siao : shao : piao).

1c 采友	1d 毛樂	2c 否母	8a 采有
9a 廣泳方	9b 楚馬	10b 肄桑	10c 尾燈通
11a 趾子	11b 定姓	12a 居御	13a 址事
15a 藻潦	15b 筓釜	15c 下女	16b 敗惣
16c 拜說	17a 露夜	17c 墉訟訟從	19a 子哉
19c 下處	20c 堅謂	21b 昂綢猶	22a 汜以悔
22b 渚與處	23a 包誘	23c 脫悅吠	24b 李子
26a 舟流憂酒遊	26b 茹怒	26b 據惣	26c 轉巷戔
26d 悄小少標	27a 裏己	28a 羽野雨	29a 土處顧

- s s* = 27 a. *liæg : ziæg* (li : yi).
s s s = 28 a. *giwo : diđ : giwo* (yü : ye : yü).
s s k = 29 a. *t'o : t'io : ko* (t'u : ch'u : ku).
k k k = 29 b. *móg : xóg : póg* (mao : hao : pao).
k k k k = 30 a. *b'og : siog : ngog : d'og* (pao : siao : ao : tao).
k k k = 30 b. *'ied : 'ied : t'ied* (yi : yi : chī).
k k p = 31 b. *d'iong : song : t'iong* (chung : sung : ch'ung).
s s s = 31 c. *t'io : mđ : g'd* (ch'u : ma : hia).
s s = 31 d. *sióg : lóg* (shou : lao).
s s = 32 c. *g'd : k'o* (hia : k'u).
s s = 33 a. *giwo : t'io* (yü : tsu).
k k = 34 a. *liad : k'iad* (li : k'i).
s s = 34 b. *kiwæg : móg* (kuei : mu).
k k k = 34 c. *ngan : tđn : p'wđn* (yen : tan : p'an).
s s s = 34 d. *tsiæg : piũg : giũg* (tsī : fou : yu).
s s = 35 a. *giwo : no* (yü : nu).
s s p s = 35 a. *p'iwær : t'liær : giwær : siær* (fei : t'i : wei : sī).
s s = 35 b. *dz'iar : d'iar* (tsi : ti).
s s = 35 c. *iæg : ziæg* (chī : yi).
s s = 35 c. *ku : g'u* (kou : hou).
p p p k = 35 d. *ióg : dióg : g'ióg : kióg* (chou : yu : k'iu : kiu).
p k = 35 e. *d'ióg : d'ióg* (ch'ou : shou).
k k k = 35 f. *g'wəd : diəd : xiəd* (huei : yi : hi).
k k = 36 a. *ko : (glđg) glo* (ku : lu).
s s = 37 b. *t'io : zio* (ch'u : yü).
s s = 37 b. *kiũg : ziæg* (kiu : yi).
s s = 37 d. *tsiæg : n'ieg* (tsī : er).
s s = 38 a. *m'wo : t'io* (wu : ch'u).
s s s s = 38 b. *ngiwo : m'wo : xo : tso* (yü : wu : hu : tsu).
j k k k = 39 c. *g'ăt : mwad : giwad : g'đđ* (hia : mai : wei : hai).
s s = 42 b. *bliwan : kwđn* (lüan : kuan).
s s = 42 b. *giwær : m'ær* (wei : mei).
p s = 42 c. *d'iar : m'ær* (t'i : mei).
k p = 42 c. *giæg : diæg* (yi : yi).
s s = 43 a. *ts'ĩär : m'ĩär* (ts'ī : mī).
s s = 43 a. *sian : t'ien* (sien : t'ien).
s s = 43 b. *siær : mwær* (si : mei).
s s = 44 a. *kliäng : ziäng* (king : yang).
k k = 44 b. *d'iad : g'đđ* (shī : hai).
s k s = 46 a. *sóg : d'óg : t'ióg* (sao : tao : ch'ou).
j k k j k = 47 b. *d'iok : d'ieg : t'ieg : siek : tieg* (ti : ti : t'i : si : ti).
k p p k = 47 c. *iian : b'iwđn : ngan : giwđn* (chan : fan : yen : yüan).
p p p k = 48 a. *d'ang : xiäng : kiäng : d'iang* (t'ang : hiang : kiang : shang).
p s = 50 b. *k'io : t's'io* (k'ü : ch'u).

s s = 51 a. *îiər : d'iar* (chī : ti).
 k k = 51 c. *siĕn : mĕn* (sin : ming).
 s s s = 52 b. *î'ïəg : î'ïəg : dziəg* (ch'ī : chī : sī).
 s s s = 52 c. *t'liər : liər : siər* (t'ī : lī : sī).
 k k k = 53 s. *b'iar : siəd : piəd* (pi : sī : pi).
 s s s = 53 b. *tso : ngo : dïo* (tsu : wu : yū).
 s s = 54 b. *piwǎn : giwǎn* (fan : yüan).
 k k = 54 b. *tsiər : piəd* (tsi : pi).
 s s p = 55 a. *g'ǎn : xiwǎn : xiwǎn* (hien : hūan : hūan).
 k p p p = 56 a. *kan : k'wǎn : ngiǎn : xiwǎn* (kien : k'uan : yen : hūan).
 k k = 57 b. *ts'ien : p'en* (ts'ien : p'an).
 s p = 58 c. *dïəm : təm* (shen : tan).
 s p = 58 d. *giwen : b'ien* (yün : p'in).
 (p p s k) = 58 d. *siang : dïang : siang : g'ǎng* (shang : shang : shuang : hing).
 p p k k k = 58 e. *log : tiog : b'og : siog : d'og* (lao : chao : pao : siao : tao).
 k k k k k s = 58 f. *'iǎn : ngǎn : p'wǎn : 'ian : 'an : tǎn : piwǎn* (yüan : an : p'an
 yen : yen : tan : fan).
 s s = 59 b. *giüg : mæg* (yu : mu).
 s s s = 59 c. *tsǎ : ts'ǎ : nǎr* (tso : ts'o : no).
 k k = 60 a. *dziwǎd : g'iwǎd* (suei : ki).

29b 冒好報	30a 暴笑教悼	30b 瞳寐嚏	31b 仲宋忡
31c 處馬下	31d 手老	32c 下苦	33a 羽阻
34a 厝揭'	34b 軌牡	34c 鴈旦泮	34d 子否友
35a 雨怒	35a 菲體違死	35b 薺弟	35c 訖以
35c 苟後	35d 舟游求救	35e 雛售	35f 潰肄壑
36a 故露	37b 處與	37c 久以	37d 子耳
38a 舞處	38b 俛舞虎組	39b 浙徧弟姊	39c 輦邁衛害
42b 變管	42b 煒美	42c 蕘美	42c 異貽
43a 泚涵	43a 鮮殄	43b 洒浼	44a 景養
44b 逝害	46a 埽道醜	47b 瞿翳掃皙帝	47c 展袞顏媛
48a 唐鄉姜上	50b 虛楚	51a 指弟	51b 兩母
51c 信命	52b 齒止俟	52c 體禮死	53a 紕四界
53b 組五予	54b 反遠	54b 濟閔	55a 憫咍護
56a 澗寬言護	57b 舊盼	58c 甚耽	58d 隕貧

- p k = 61 a. *g'áng : mīwang* (hang : wang).
 k k = 62 d. *pwæg : mwæg* (pei : mei).
 k k = 63 b. *liad : tād* (li : tai).
 k k = 64 a. *póg : xóg* (pao : hao).
 s s = 64 c. *liæg : kiũg* (li : kiu).
 p s = 65 a. *lia : mia* (li : mi).
 k k = 65 b. *dziwəd : tsiwəd* (suei : tsuei).
 s s = 68 b. *ts'io : piwo* (ch'u : fu).
 p s = 68 c. *b'wo : xio* (p'u : hü).
 p k k = 69 a. *kán : t'nán : nán* (kan : t'an : nan).
 (p k j) = 69 b. *sióg : sióg : d'iók* (siu : siao : shu).
 (p s p k) = 70 b. *b'ióg : dz'óg : 'ióg : kǒg* (fou : tsao : yu : kiao).
 s s = 71 a. *liwər : d'iar* (lei : ti).
 s s k = 71 a. *xo : b'wo : ko* (hu : fu : ku).
 s s s = 71 b. *dziæg : mæg : giũg* (sī : mu : yu).
 k k = 72 c. *ngád : siwad* (ai : suei).
 s s s = 73 a. *g'lam : t'ám : kám* (hien : t'an : kan).
 s s s = 74 c. *liæg : tsiæg : kiũg* (li : tsī : kiu).
 k k = 75 a. *kwán : ts'án* (kuan : ts'an).
 s s = 75 b. *xóg : dz'óg* (hao : tsao).
 s s s = 76 a. *liæg : k'ieg : mæg* (li : k'i : mu).
 p k = 76 a. *g'wer : 'iwər* (huai : wei).
 s s s = 77 b. *sióg : tsióg : xóg* (shou : tsiu : hao).
 s s s s s s = 78 a. *mā : tso : mīwo : kio : xo : sio : nio* (ma : tsu : wu : kü : hu :
 so : ju).
 k k = 78 b. (*d'iaq*) *d'io : ngio* (shê : yü).
 k k = 78 b. *k'ung : sung* (k'ung : sung).
 s s s s = 78 c. *póg : sióg : sióg : b'ióg* (pao : shou : shou : fou).
 k s = 78 c. *man : xán* (man : han).
 (j k p s) = 79 c. *d'iók : d'óg : t'ióg : xóg* (chu : tao : ch'ou : hao).
 k k k = 80 c. *'an : ts'án : ngian* (yen : ts'an : yen).
 k k k k = 81 a. (*glāq*) *glo : (k'iab > k'io : (dg)) 'o : ko* (lu : k'ü : wu : ku).
 (s p k) = 81 b. *sióg : d'ióg : xóg* (shou : ch'ou : hao).
 k k k = 82 a. *tán : glán : ngan* (tan : lan : yen).
 s s s = 82 b. *tsióg : lôg : xóg* (tsiu : lao : hao).
 p k = 82 c. *læg : dz'əng* (lai : tseng).
 k k = 82 c. *d'iwən : mīwən* (shun : wen).
 k k = 82 c. *xóg : póg* (hao : pao).
 s s = 87 b. *giwæg : dz'ieg* (wei : shī).
 p k k = 88 a. *p'ung : g'ũng : sung* (feng : hiang : sung).
 s s s = 89 a. *dian : piwăn : giwăn* (shan : fan : yüan).
 k s s = 90 c. *xmwæg : ziæg : xiæg* (huei : yi : hi).
 k p p = 91 b. *b'wæg : siæg : læg* (pei : sī : lai).
 s s = 92 a. *siwər : d'iar* (shuei : ti).

s s = 92 a. *ts'io : nio* (ch'u : ju).
 p p k = 92 b. *siĕn : niĕn : siĕn* (sin : jen : sin).
 (p s k) = 94 a. *d'wǎn : 'iŭǎn : ngiŭǎn* (t'uan : yüan : yüan).
 k p = 95 a. *χwǎn : kǎn* (huan : kien).
 p k p = 96 c. *χmwǎng : mǐŭng : tsǎng* (hung : meng : tseng).
 k s s s = 97 b. *mǐóg : d'óg : môg : χóg* (mou : tao : mu : hao).
 k k p = 98 a. *d'io : so : g'wǎ* (chu : su : hua).
 k k = 100 a. *tog : d'ioḡ* (tao : chao).
 k k = 100 c. *pwo : kiwo* (pu : kü).
 k k = 100 c. *ziag : máḡ* (ye : mu).
 s s = 101 b. *liang : d'áng* (liang : tang).
 s s = 101 c. *mǎḡ : mǎḡ* (mu : mu).
 k k k k = 102 c. *bliwan : kwan : kian : b'ian* (lüan : kuan : kien : pien).
 s s = 104 b. *dzio : giwo* (sü : yü).
 s s = 104 c. *ts'iwǎr : śiwǎr* (ts'uei : shuei).
 s s s = 105 b. *tsiǎr : niǎr : d'iǎr* (tsi : ni : ti).
 k k s k s k = 106 c. *bliwan : 'iŭǎn : siŭǎn : kwan : piŭǎn : luǎn* (lüan : yüan :
 süan : kuan : fan : luan).
 p k k k = 107 b. *d'ieg : b'ięḡ t'ieg : ts'ięḡ* (t'i : pi : t'i : ts'i).
 k k k k = 108 a. *nio : (mǎḡ) mo' : (d'ág) d'o' : (glǎḡ) glo' (ju : mo : tu : lu).*

58d 湯裝夾行	58e 勞朝暴笑悼	58f 怨岸泮宴晏反	59b 右母
59c 左瑤儺	60a 逐悻	61a 杭望	62d 背痔
63b 厲帶	64a 報好	64c 李玖	65a 離靡
65b 穗醉	68b 楚甫	68c 蒲許	69a 乾嘆難
69b 脩獻淑	70b 罩造憂覺	71a 藟弟	71a 許父顧
71b 埃母育	72c 艾歲	73a 橙莢敢	74c 李子玖
75a 館漿	75b 好造	76a 里杞母	76a 懷畏
77b 狩酒好	77c 野馬武	78a 馬組舞舉虎所女	78b 射御
78b 控送	78c 鴉首手卓	78c 慢罕	79c 軸陶抽好
80c 晏漿彥	81a 路祛惡故	81b 手魏好	82a 爛爛鴈
82b 酒老好	82c 來贈	82c 順問	82c 好報
87b 浦士	88a 丰巷送	89a 墀陝遠	90c 晦已喜
91b 佩思來	92a 水弟	92a 楚女	92b 薪人信
94a 溥婉願	95a 淡蘭	96c 薨夢憎	97b 茂道牡好

- s s* = 110 a. *g'o : b'ıwo* (hu : fu).
s s s = 110 a. *tsıəg : zıəg : ııəg* (tsı : yi : chı).
s s = 110 b. *k'ıəg : məg* (k'i : mu).
k k k = 110 b. *kıwəd : mıəd : k'ıəd* (ki : mei : k'i).
s p s = 110 c. *d'ıər : kər : sıər* (ti : kie : sı).
k k k = 111 b. *ngwád : zıəd : dıəd* (wai : yi : shı).
s s s k s s s = 113 a. *sıo : sıo : nıo : ko : nıo : t'o : sıo* (shu : shu : ju : ku : ju : t'u : so).
k k p k = 114 a. (*mág*) *mo : d'ıo : kıo : kıwo* (mo : chu : kü : kü).
k k k k = 114 b. *dıəd : mwad : ngwád : kıwad* (shı : mai : wai : kuei).
s s s s s = 115 b. *k'óg : nıóg : sóg : k'óg : póg* (k'ao : niu : sao : k'ao : pao).
(*s k j p*) = 116 b. *kóg : sıóg : g'ók : ıóg* (kao : siu : hu : yu).
k k p = 116 c. *lıěn : mıěn : nıěn* (lin : ming : jen).

p p k = 118 b. *tş'ıu : ngıu : g'u* (ch'u : yü : hou).
s s s = 118 c. *tş'ıo : g'o : ııđ* ch'u : hu : chē).
s s s s = 119 a. *d'o : sıo : kıwo : b'ıwo* (tu : sü : kü : fu).
k k = 119 a. *b'ıər : ts'ıər* (pi : ts'ı).

p p k = 119 b. *tsıəng : g'ıwəng : sıəng* (tsing : k'iung : sing).
k k k = 120 a. (*k'ıab*) *k'ıo : kıo : ko* (k'ü : kü : ku).
k k k = 120 b. *dzióg : kıóg : ıóg* (siu : kiu : hao).
s s s s s s = 121 a. *gıwo : ııwo : ko : sıo : g'o : sıo* (yü : hü : ku : shu : hu : so).
s s = 123 a. *tsđ : ngđ* (tso : wo).
k k = 123 a. *ıóg : dziəg* (hao : shı).
s s s = 124 a. *tş'ıo : dıđ : ı'ıo* (ch'u : ye : ch'u).
k k k = 124 c. *ts'an : glán : tán* (ts'an : lan : tan).
k p = 124 d. (*zıag*) *zıo : kıo* (ye : kü).

p p k = 125 a. *lien : tien : sıěn* (ling : tien : sin).
s s s = 125 b. *k'o : g'đ : zıo* (k'u : hia : yü).
s s s = 127 a. *b'ıóg : sıóg : sıóg* (fou : shou : shou).
j j k j j j = 128 a. *dziuk : kuk : ııug : ngıuk : ıuk : k'ıuk* (sü : ku : chu : yü : wu : k'ü).

p s s = 128 c. *g'ıwən : d'wər : gıwən* (k'ün : tui : yün).
s s s s s = 129 c. *ts'əg : zıəg : dz'ıəg : gıüəg : ııəg* (ts'ai : yi : sı : yu : chı).
s s s = 130 a. *gıüəg : mwəg : ııəg* (yu : mei : chı).
s s = 130 b. *gıüəg : ııəg* (yu : chı).
s s s = 131 c. *tş'ıo : ıo : ngıo* (ch'u : hu : yü).
k k k = 132 c. *d'ıəd : dzıwəd : tsıwəd* (ti : suei : tsuei).

p k = 134 b. *sıəg : b'wəg* (sı : pei).
s s = 135 b. *kıwəg : póg* (kuei : pao).
k k k = 136 a. *t'ang : dıang : mıwang* (t'ang : shang : wang).
s s s = 136 b. *ko : g'đ : gıwo* (ku : hia : yü).
s s k = 136 c. *pıóg : d'óg : d'óg* (fou : tao : tao).
s s = 137 a. *ııwo : g'đ* (hü : hia).
k k = 137 c. *dıəd : mwad* (shı : mai).

s s = 138 c. *liæg : ts'æg* (li : ts'ī).
 s s = 139 b. *d'io : ngio* (chu : yü).
 k k = 140 b. *p'wdd : t'iad* (p'ei : chī).
 s s = 141 a. *ziæg : ziæg* (yi : yi).
 k k = 141 b. *dz'iwad : siwad* (tsuei : suei).
 k p = 141 b. *ko : dio* (ku : yü).
 s s s s = 143 a. *kiog : liog : k'iog : ts'iog* (kiao : liao : kiao : ts'iao).
 s s s s = 143 b. *g'óg : lióg : d'ióg : ts'óg* (hao : liu : shou : ts'ao).
 k k = 143 c. *t'iog : liog* (chao : liao).
 s s = 143 c. *d'iog : ts'og* (shao : ts'ao).
 s s = 144 b. *mā : d'ā* (ma : ye).
 s s s = 145 c. *d'am : ngiam : t'iam* (tan : yen : chen).
 k k k = 146 b. *kog : diog : d'og* (kao : yao : tao).
 p p k = 149 b. *piog : p'iog : tiog* (piao : p'iao : tiao).
 s s s = 150 a. *giwo : ts'io : t'io* (yü : ch'u : ch'u).
 j j k = 150 c. *d'iwat : siwat : siwad* (yüe : süe : shuei).
 k j = 151 a. *twād : piwāt* (tuei : fu).
 k k = 151 c. *tu : ku* (tou : kou).
 k k = 151 d. *wād : iwād* (wei : wei).

98 _a 著素華	100 _a 倒召	100 _c 園瞿	100 _c 夜莫
101 _b 兩蕩	101 _c 敵母	102 _c 變中見弁	104 _b 鯁雨
104 _c 唯水	105 _b 濟涵弟	106 _c 變婉選貫反亂	107 _b 提辟掃刺
108 _a 如莫度路	110 _a 姑父	110 _a 子已止	110 _b 此母
111 _b 外世逝	113 _a 鼠黍女顧女士所	114 _a 莫除居瞿	114 _b 逝蕩外蹶
115 _b 拷扭埽考保	116 _b 皓緝鵠憂	116 _c 命人	118 _b 窮隅迨
118 _c 楚戶蒼	119 _a 杜滑踰父	119 _a 比伏	119 _b 菁震姓
120 _a 祛居故	120 _b 衰突好	121 _a 羽相鹽黍姑所	123 _a 左我
123 _a 好食	124 _a 楚野處	124 _c 粲爛旦	124 _a 夜居
125 _a 苓嶺信	125 _b 苦下與	127 _a 阜手狩	128 _a 續轂馬王屋曲
128 _c 羣鯨苑	129 _c 采已淡右汴	130 _a 有梅止	130 _b 有止
131 _c 楚虎禦	132 _c 棣檖醉	134 _b 思佩	135 _b 簋飽
136 _a 渴上望	136 _b 鼓下羽	136 _c 缶道翻	137 _a 桐下
137 _c 逝蕩	138 _c 鯉子	139 _b 紵語	140 _b 肺哲

s s = 151 d. *·iŭǎn : bliwan* (yüan : lüan).
k k = 153 d. *kog : log* (kao : lao).
s p = 154 a. *χwár : ·iər* (huo : yi).
j j j k = 154 a. *p̄iwǎt : l̄iat : g'át : s̄iwad* (fa : lie : ho : suei).
s s s s s = 154 a. *d̄ziəg : l̄iəg : ts̄iəg : m̄əg : χ̄iəg* (sī : chī : tsī : mu : hi).
s s = 154 c. *χwár : ḡiwər* (huo : wei).
s s s s s s s s s = 154 e. *ko : ḡiwo : d̄iǎ : ḡiwo : g'o : g'ǎ : s̄io : g'o : l̄'io* (ku : yü :
 ye : yü : hu : hia : shu : hu : ch'u).
s s s s = 154 f. *tsóg : d'óg : ts̄ióg : d̄ióg* (tsao : tao : tsiu : shou).
k k = 154 g. *pwo : kǎ* (pu : kia).
s s = 154 h. *tsóg : k̄ióg* (tsao : kiu).
p p s p p p p = 154 h. *šiang : d'iang : χiang : ziang : d'áng : kwǎng : kiǎng*
 (shuang : ch'ang : hiang : yang : t'ang : kuang : kiang).
p s = 155 a. *ḡiog : ts̄iəg* (yao : tsī).
p p s = 155 a. *·ən : g'ən : m̄iwen* (en : k'in : min).
 (s k s p) = 155 b. *ḡiwo : d'o : g'o : d̄io* (yü : tu : hu : yü).
s s = 156 a. *d̄iǎ : g'ǎ* (ye : hia).
s s = 156 b. *ḡiwo : g'o* (yü : hu).
k p = 156 b. *·iwər : g'wer* (wei : huai).
j j j k = 156 c. *d'iet : s̄iēt : t̄iēt : l̄iēd* (tie : shī : chī : chī).
s s = 156 d. *ḡiwo : mǎ* (yü : ma).
s s = 158 b. *ḡiwǎn : dz'ian* (yüan : tsien).
s s s = 159 b. *l̄io : s̄io : l̄'io* (chu : so : ch'u).
s s = 160 a. *m̄iwər : k̄ier* (wei : ki).

141a 已矣	141b 華許	141c 顧予	143a 皎僚糾悄
143b 皓瀏受怪	143c 照燎	143c 紹燥	144b 馬里予
145c 苔儼枕	146c 膏曜悼	149b 飄噪弔	150a 羽楚處
150c 閱雪說	151a 殺芾	151c 味媿	151d 蒼蔚
151d 婉孌	153d 膏勞	154a 火衣	154a 發烈褐歲
154a 耜趾子畝喜	154c 火葦	154c 股羽野宇戶下鼠戶處	154c 藁稻酒壽
154g 圓稼	154h 蚤韭	154h 霜場饗羊塋駝疆	155a 鴉子
155a 恩勤閱	155b 雨土戶予	156a 野下	156b 宇戶
156c 埵室室至	156d 羽馬	158b 遠踐	159b 潛所處
			160a 尾几

In this list we have marked pure *shang-sheng* rimes by italics, pure *k'ü-sheng* rimes by bold type.¹⁾

The list allows of some important observations.

The “pure” rimes with exclusively Anc. Chin. *shang-sheng* words number 102.
The rimes in which Anc. *shang-sheng* mixes with Anc. *p'ing-sheng* number 18.
The rimes in which Anc. *shang-sheng* mixes with Anc. *k'ü-sheng* number 10.

The “pure” rimes with exclusively Anc. *k'ü-sheng* words number 61.
The rimes in which Anc. *k'ü-sheng* mixes with Anc. *p'ing-sheng* number 30.
The rimes in which Anc. *k'ü-sheng* mixes with Anc. *shang-sheng* number, as already stated, 10.
The rimes in which Anc. *k'ü-sheng* mixes with Anc. *ju-sheng* number 8.

There are two obvious conclusions.

A. On the one hand, there is a clear indication of an Archaic tone class, the “Archaic 2nd tone”, roughly corresponding to the *shang-sheng* class in Anc. Chinese.

B. On the other hand, there is likewise an undeniable indication of an Arch. tone class, the “Archaic 3rd tone”, roughly corresponding to the *k'ü-sheng* class in Anc. Chinese. It is true that the figures are less crushingly convincing here than in the preceding class. In the present class we have only 61 pure rimes against 30 and 10 mixed rimes (and 8 contacts with *ju-sheng*). But rimes like 39 c: *j k k k*, or 47 b: *j k k j k*, or 58 f: *k k k k k s*, or 107 b: *p k k k*, or 114 a: *k k p k*, though not quite “pure”, nevertheless strongly support the surmise of a 3rd Arch. tone class. Moreover, cases like 17 c: *p k k p* or 47 c: *k p p k* or 106 c: *k k s k s k* may have been meant to form alternating rimes.

A strong corroboration is further furnished by the rimes in the Siao-ya and Ta-ya sections of the Shī. It is true that here — as already stated in our introductory remarks — the versification is far less strict than in the Kuo-feng, and the cases in which the poet has freely mixed words with Anc. *p'ing*, *shang* and *k'ü* in his rimes, evidently not aiming at a congruence in tone, are far more numerous in Siao-ya and Ta-ya than in Kuo-feng. But none the less there are a great many odes in which we can observe a serious effort to take the tones into account, just as well as the vowels and consonants of the “finals”. There are numerous pure *p'ing-sheng* sets of rime words and likewise numerous pure *shang-sheng* sets. Now, when we come to the Anc. Chin. *k'ü-sheng*, we again find a great many pure *k'ü-sheng* sets of rime words; we give here 57 examples (some more could be adduced if we were to take into account rimes of types *a : b : b : a* or *a : b : a : b*, which are left out here):

¹⁾ A very few cases in which three or four tones are mixed have been placed in parenthesis in our list, since here the poet obviously has not aimed at an observation of tones in his rimes.

- 164 f. d'u : 'i'u : g'i'u : n'iu.
 167 b. d'ien'g : p'i'eng.
 168 b. b'wád : dz'iwád.
 171 b. san : k'án.
 179 e. ts'iar : ts'är.
 182 b. ng'äd : i'iad : xwád.
 192 j. tsæg : 'iæg.
 194 d. t'wád : dz'iwád : dz'iwád : s'iwád :
 t'wád.
 194 e. i'iwád : dz'iwéd.
 197 d. x'iwád : p'iad : k'ed : m'ied.
 197 f. s'ien : g'ien.
 198 c. d'óg : b'og.
 202 a. 'iwád : dz'iwád.
 207 b. d'io : (mág) mo' : (s'ia'g) s'io' :
 g'd : ko : no.
 212 c. dz'iwád : l'iad.
 217 c. s'ian : k'ian : 'ian.
 220 e. i'æg : g'i'g.
 222 b. p'iad : x'iwád : s'iad : k'ed.
 223 b. k'og : g'ög.
 224 b. k'iad : tsäd : mwad.
 227 a. kog : log.
 228 d. 'ad : g'iwád.
 229 e. ngwád : mwad.
 230 a. dz'ia'g : xmwæg : tsæg.
 235 f. tieg : d'i'eg.
 236 e. mwád : g'iwád.
 237 h. 'iwän : m'iwän.
 237 h. b'wád : t'wád : d'wád : i'iwád.
 239 e. liog : log.
 241 b. 'ied : l'iad.
 241 b. k'io : (i'ia'g) i'io' : (glág) glo' : ko.
 241 c. b'wád : t'wád : twád : k'iwéd.
 241 d. l'iwád : p'ier.
 243 f. g'd : tsä.
 245 d. b'wád : dz'iwád.
 247 e. k'iwéd : l'iwád.
 249 d. g'iwéd : x'iad.
 250 f. kwán : lwán : twán : kan.
 251 c. käd : x'iad.
 253 d. k'iad : z'iad : l'iad : b'wad : d'äd.
 254 b. nán : x'ian.
 254 b. k'iwad : z'iad.
 254 g. g'wer : 'iwär.
 254 h. no : d'io.
 254 h. tán : g'ian.
 255 c. l'iwád : d'iwád : twád : (nwéb) nwéd.
 255 c. i'ög : k'ög.
 255 e. xo : (z'ia'g) z'io'.
 255 h. g'äd : s'iad.
 256 b. x'iwän : d'iwän.
 256 d. m'ied : (nwéb) nwéd.

164f 豆驅具孺 167b 定聘 168b 旆瘁 171b 汕行
 179e 伏柴 182b 艾晰歲 192j 載意 194d 退遂瘁 諄是
 194e 出'瘁 197d 噤淠屈寐 197f 先'瑾 198c 盜暴 202a 蕭瘁
 207b 除莫'庶暇顧怒 212c 穗利 217c 霰見宴 220e 識'又
 222b 淠噤駟屈 223b 教傲 224b 渴瘵蓮 225d 厲'璽蓮
 227a 膏'勞 228d 愛謂 229e 外'邁 230a 食'誨載
 235f 帝易 236e 姝渭 237b 溫問 237c 拔兌駝 喙
 239e 燎'勞 241b 殪柯 241c 据 柘路固 241c 拔兌對季

241 _d 類比	243 _f 賀佐	245 _d 旆綈	247 _e 匱類
249 _d 位堅	250 _f 館亂鍛澗	251 _c 漚堅	253 _d 渴泄厲敗大
254 _h 難憲	254 _b 蹶泄	254 _g 壤畏	254 _h 怒豫
254 _h 旦衍	255 _c 類對對內	255 _c 祝究	255 _e 呼夜
253 _h 害世	256 _h 訓順	256 _d 寐內	256 _g 漏靚
257 _f 優逮	257 _m 隧類對醉悻	264 _a 惠厲療屈	264 _e 富忌 264 _e 類瘁

256 g. *lu : ku.*

257 f. *əd : d'əd.*

257 m. *dziwəd : liwəd : twəd : tsiwəd : b'wəd.*

264 a. *g'iwəd : liəd : tsäd : ked.*

264 e. *piüg : g'jæg.*

264 e. *liwəd : dz'iwəd.*

All the words in this list had Anc. Chin. *k'ü - sheng*.

A glance at the list will convince the observer that an Arch. 3rd tone class, roughly corresponding to the Anc. Chin. *k'ü - sheng*, has existed and been felt by the poets who chose these rime words. It cannot possibly be a coincidence that all the words for instance in 164 f, 194 d, 197 d, 207 b, 222 b, 224 b, 237 h, 241 b, c, 250 f, 253 d, 255 c, 257 m, 264 a have the *k'ü - sheng* in Anc. Chinese. Our list of Siao-ya and Ta-ya pure one-tone sets of rime words corresponding to the Anc. *k'ü - sheng* indeed serves to confirm definitely the conclusion as to the existence of the Arch. 3rd tone class which we drew from the Kuo-feng.

We now revert to our list of Kuo-feng rime words in Anc. *shang - sheng* and *k'ü - sheng* given above (Odes 1—160). Two further interesting observations in regard to that list should be made:

a. On the one hand, the Arch. 2nd tone (corresponding to Anc. *shang - sheng*) rimes nearly twice as often (18 cases) with the Arch. 1st tone (corresponding to Anc. *p'ing - sheng*) as it does (10 cases) with the Arch. 3rd tone (corresponding to Anc. *k'ü - sheng*); likewise, the Arch. 3rd tone (= *k'ü*) rimes three times as often (30 cases) with the Arch. 1st tone (= *p'ing*) as it does (10 cases) with the Arch. 2nd tone (= *shang*). If we turn to the Siao-ya and Ta-ya sections, we find the same phenomenon: a mixing of 1:2 and of 1:3 is much more common than a mixing of 2:3.

b. On the other hand, it is only the Arch. 3rd tone (corresponding to Anc. *k'ü - sheng*) that sometimes rimes with the Arch. 4th tone (*ju - sheng*).

We shall see presently that these last two phenomena allow of some interesting conclusions.

We now pass on from the Kuo-feng odes to the Siang poem in the Yi-king and make a similar table. The cases of pure *p'ing - sheng* rimes and of pure *ju - sheng* rimes are very numerous — it is not necessary to adduce them here,

since the existence of the 1st and the 4th Arch. tone classes is already clear beyond dispute. We shall tabulate only the rimes with Anc. *shang - sheng* and *k'ü - sheng* words (sometimes mixed with *p'ing - sheng*). The figures 1, 2 etc. refer to the 64 kua of the text; we cite here only so much of the lines that the reader can easily locate the quotations in the Yi text.

s s = 1 a. Yang tsê hia (*g'd*) ye: tê shī p'u (*p'o*) ye.

s s s s = 1 b. Fan ju tao (*d'ôg*) ye: tsin wu kiu (*g'îôg*) ye: ta jen tsao (*dz'ôg*) ye: ying pu k'o kiu (*k'üôg*) ye: t'ien tê pu k'o wei shou (*šîôg*) ye.

s s = 1 c. Hia (*g'd*) ye: shī shê (*šîd*) ye.

k k = 1 d. Hung shī (*dz'îag*) ye: tsi shī (*šîag*) ye.

j k k = 2 a. Yi shī fa (*p'iwât*) ye: chī kuang ta (*d'âd*) ye: shen pu hai (*g'âd*) ye.

k k = 4 a. Shun yi sun (*swân*) ye: shang hia shun (*d'îwân*) ye.

k k = 5 a. Tsai tsai wai (*ngwâd*) ye: king shen pu pai (*b'wad*) ye.

k k = 6 a. Yi chung cheng (*îiêng*) ye: yi pu tsu king (*k'îêng*) ye.

k k = 9 a. Shang ho chī (*îiag*) ye: pu tu fu (*p'üôg*) ye.

k k = 10 a. Tu hing yüan (*ngiwân*) ye: chung pu tsī luan (*lwân*) ye.

k k k = 11 a. Chī tsai wai (*ngwâd*) ye: yi kuang ta (*d'âd*) ye: t'ien ti tsi (*tsiâd*) ye.

k k = 11 b. Chung yi hing yüan (*ngiwân*) ye: k'ī ming luan (*lwân*) ye.

s s = 13 a. Yu shuei kiu (*g'îôg*) ye: lin tao (*d'ôg*) ye.

k k k = 14 a. Wu kiao hai (*g'âd*) ye: tsi chung pu pai (*b'wad*) ye: siao jen hai (*g'âd*) ye.

k k = 14 b. Sin yi fa chī (*îiag*) ye: yi er wu pei (*b'îag*) ye.

s s = 17 a. Fu kien yü (*zîo*) ye: chī shê hia (*g'd*) ye.

s s s = 18 a. Yi ch'eng k'ao (*k'ôg*) ye: tê chung tao (*d'ôg*) ye: chung wu kiu (*g'îôg*) ye.

k k = 19 a. Chī hing cheng (*îiêng*) ye: wei shun ming (*m'îäng*) ye.

k k = 19 b. Hing chung chī wei (*giwâd*) ye: chī tsai nei (*nwâb* > *nwâd*) ye.

s s s s = 20 a. Siao jen tao (*d'ôg*) ye: yi k'o ch'ou (*t'îôg*) ye: wei shī tao (*d'ôg*) ye: shang pao (*pôg*) ye.

s k = 22 a. Yu hi (*χîag*) ye: shang tê chī (*îiag*) ye.

s s s = 23. Yi mie hia (*g'd*) ye: wei yü (*zîo*) ye.

s s s = 24. Yi wu kiu (*g'îôg*) ye: yi ts'ung tao (*d'ôg*) ye: chung yi tsī k'ao (*k'ôg*) ye.

k k = 25 a. Tê chī (*îiag*) ye: wei fu (*p'üôg*) ye.

k p = 25 b. Pu k'o shī (*šîag*) ye: k'ung chī tsai (*tsag*) ye.

k s = 26. Shang ho chī (*îiag*) ye: yu hi (*χîag*) ye.

k k k = 27 a. Yi pu tsu kwei (*k'iwâd*) ye: hing shī lei (*liwâd*) ye: tao ta pei (*b'wâd*) ye.

k p = 27 b. Shun yi ts'ung shang (*d'iang*) ye: ta yu k'ing (*k'îäng*) ye.

s s s = Jou tsai hia (*g'd*) ye: pu yi siang yü (*zîo*) ye: pu k'o yi yu fu (*p'iwô*) ye.

s s s = 28 a. Ho k'o kiu (*k'üôg*) ye: yi k'o ch'ou (*t'îôg*) ye: pu k'o kiu (*g'îôg*) ye.

k k k = 29. Kang jou tsi (*tsiâd*) ye: chung wei ta (*d'âd*) ye: hiung san sui (*šiwâd*) ye.

s s s = 30. Yi pi kiu (*g'ióg*) ye: tê chung tao (*d'óg*) ye: ho k'o kiu (*k'üŋ*) ye.
k k = 31 a. Chī tsai wai (*ngwád*) ye: shun pu hai (*g'ád*) ye.
s s = 31 b. Yi pu ch'u (*t'io*) ye: so chī hia (*g'á*) ye.
k k = 31 c. Wei kan hai (*g'ád*) ye: wei kuang ta (*d'ád*) ye.
(*p k k k s k p*) = 33. Pu wang ho tsai (*tsəg*) ye: ku chī (*t'æg*) ye: yu tsi pai
(*b'wəg*) ye: pu k'o ta shī (*dʒ'æg*) ye: siao jen fou (*p'üŋ*)
ye: yi cheng chī (*t'æg*) ye: wu so yi (*ngiæg*) ye.
p s p p p p = 34. Kün tsi kang (*káng*) ye: shang wang (*giwang*) ye: wei pu
tang (*táng*) ye: pu siang (*dziang*) ye: kiu pu ch'ang (*d'iang*)
ye.
k k = 35. tu hing cheng (*t'ěng*) ye: wei shou ming (*miǎng*) ye.
j j j k j j j = 36. Yi pu shī (*d'iek*) ye: shun yi tsé (*tsək*) ye: nai ta tê (*tək*) ye:
huo sin yi (*'iæg*) ye: ming pu k'o si (*siek*) ye: chao si kuo
(*kwək*) ye: shī tsé (*tsək*) ye.
k k = 37 a. Chī wei pien (*plian*) ye: shun yi sun (*swən*) ye:
k k k = 37 b. Shun tsai wei (*giwed*) ye: kiao siang ai (*'əd*) ye: fan shen chī wei
(*giwed*) ye.
s s = 38. Yi pi kiu (*g'ióg*) ye: wei shī tao (*d'óg*) ye.
s p p = 39 a. Yi tai (*d'æg*) ye: chung wu yu (*giŋg*) ye: nei hi chī (*t'æg*) ye.
k k = 39 b. Chī tsai nei (*nwəb* > *nwəd*) ye: yi ts'ung kuei (*k'iwəd*) ye.

1a 下普	1b 道咎造久首	1c 下舍	1d 事試
2a 發大害	4a 巽順	5a 外敗	6a 正敬
9a 志富	10a 願亂	11a 外大際	11b 願亂
13a 咎道	14a 害敗害	14b 志備	17a 與下
18a 考道咎	19a 正命	19b 謂內	20a 道醜道寶
22a 喜志	23 下與下	24 咎道考	25 志富
26 志喜	27a 貴類悖	27b 上慶	28a 下與輔
28b 久醜咎	29 際大歲	30 咎道久	31 外害
31b 處下	31c 害大	33 災志懋事否志疑	
34 剛往當詳長	35 正命	36 食則得意息國則	37a 變巽
37b 位愛謂	38 咎道	39a 待尤之	39b 內貴
40a 咎道醜咎	40b 位退悖	40c 志疑喜祐志	42 事來志之志來
43 咎道咎	44 正命	45a 亂變巽	45b 當光上
46 志喜疑事志富	47 下與	48a 下舍與	48b 井正成

- s s s* = 40 a. Yi wu kiu (*g'ióg*) ye: tê chung tao (*d'óg*) ye: yi k'o ch'ou (*t'ióg*) ye: yu shuei kiu (*g'ióg*) ye.
- k k k* = 40 b. Wei tang wei (*giwed*) ye: siao jen t'uei (*t'wəd*) ye: yi kie pei (*b'wəd*) ye.
- (*k p s k k*) = 40 c. Chung yi wei chī (*îiəg*) ye: san tse yi (*ngiəg*) ye: yi k'o hi (*χiəg*) ye: tsī shang yu (*giũg*) ye: ta tê chī (*îiəg*) ye.
- k p k p k p* = 42. Hia pu hou shī (*də'ïəg*) ye tsai wai lai (*ləg*) ye: ku yu chī (*îiəg*) ye: yi yi chī (*îiəg*) ye: ta tê chī (*îiəg*) ye: tsī wai lai (*ləg*) ye.
- s s s* = 43. Pu sheng er wang kiu (*g'ióg*) ye: tê chung tao (*d'óg*) ye: chung wu kiu (*g'ióg*) ye.
- k k* = 44. Chung cheng (*îiəng*) ye: chī pu she ming (*miǎng*) ye.
- k k k* = 45 a. K'i chī luan (*lwan*) ye: chung wei pien (*plian*) ye: shang sun (*swən*) ye.
- p p k* = 45 b. Wei pu tang (*tang*) ye: chī wei kuang (*kwang*) ye: wei an shang (*d'iang*) ye.
- (*k s p k k k*) = 46. Shang ho chī (*îiəg*) ye: yu hi (*χiəg*) ye: wu so yi (*ngiəg*) ye: shun shī (*də'ïəg*) ye: ta tê chī (*îiəg*) ye: siao pu fu (*piũg*) ye.
- s s* = 47. Chī tsai hia (*g'd*) ye: yu yü (*zio*) ye.
- s s s* = 48 a. Tsing ni pu shī hia (*g'd*) ye: shī shē (*śid*) ye: wu yü (*zio*) ye.
- (*s k p*) = 48 b. Siu tsing (*tsiəng*) ye: chung cheng (*îiəng*) ye: ta ch'eng (*d'ïəng*) ye.
- p k* = 49. Yu ho chī (*îiəg*) ye: sin chī (*îiəg*) ye.
- k k* = 50. Wei pei (*b'wəd*) ye: yi ts'ung kwei (*kiwəd*) ye.
- k p* = 50 b. Shī k'i yi (*ngia*) ye: sin ju ho (*g'd*) ye.
- j k* = 51. Chung wei tê (*tək*) ye: wei lin kie (*keg*) ye.
- k p* = 52. Wei shī cheng (*îiəng*) ye: wei t'uei t'ing (*t'ien*) ye.
- s s s s s* = 53 a. Yi wu kiu (*g'ióg*) ye: pu su pao (*póg*) ye: li k'ün ch'ou (*t'ióg*) ye: shī k'i tao (*d'óg*) ye: shun siang pao (*póg*) ye.
- k k k* = 53 b. Shun yi sun (*swən*) ye: tê so yüan (*ngiwan*) ye: pu k'o luan (*lwan*) ye.
- p k k* = 55. Kuo sün tsai (*tsəg*) ye: sin yi fa chī (*îieg*) ye: pu k'o ta shī (*də'ïəg*) ye.
- p k* = 56 a. Yi yi shang (*śiang*) ye: k'i yi sang (*sang*) ye.
- k k k* = 56 b. Wei tê wei (*giwed*) ye: sin wei k'uai (*k'wad*) ye: shang tai (*d'əd*) ye.
- p k* = 58 a. Hing wei yi (*ngiəg*) ye: sin chī (*îiəg*) ye.
- k k* = 58 b. Shun (*d'iwən*) ye: tê yüan (*ngiwan*) ye.

49 之志	50a 悖貴	50b 義何	51 得戒
52 正聽	53a 咎飽醜道保	53b 巽願亂	55 災志事
56a 傷喪	56b 位快速	58a 疑志	58b 順願
58c 外大位害	60 咎道	61a 變願	61b 當上當長
62a 何過	62b 當長上尤	63a 咎道	63b 懋疑時來久

k k k k = 58 c. Chī tsai wai (*ngwád*) ye: kuang ta (*d'əd*) ye: cheng wei (*giwed*) ye: yüan hai (*g'ád*) ye.

s s = 60. Yu shuei kiu (*g'ïög*) ye: ch'eng shang tao (*d'ög*) ye.

k k = 61 a. Chī wei pien (*plian*) ye: chung sin yüan (*ngiwn*) ye.

p s p p = 61 b. Wei pu tang (*táng*) ye: tsüe lei shang (*d'iang*) ye: cheng tang (*táng*) ye: ho k'o ch'ang (*d'iang*) ye.

p k = 62 a. Pu k'o ju ho (*g'd*) ye: ch'en pu k'o kuo (*kwá*) ye.

p p k k = 62 b. Wei pu tang (*táng*) ye: chung pu k'o ch'ang (*d'iang*) ye: yi shang (*d'iang*) ye: yi k'ang (*k'áng*) ye.

s s = 63 a. Yi wu kiu (*g'ïög*) ye: chung tao (*d'ög*) ye.

(k p p p s) = 63 b. San nien k'o chī pai (*b'weg*) ye: yi so yi (*ngiög*) ye: pu ju si lin chī shī (*d'ieg*) ye: ki ta lai (*lag*) ye: ho k'o kiu (*k'üüg*) ye.

The system revealed by this Yi king poem is exactly the same as that which we found in the Kuo-feng odes: there are clear indications both of a second tone class ("s h a n g") and of a 3rd tone class ("k ' ü"), and, when there are rime sets with mixed tones (not very frequent), it is mostly a mixing of 1st: 2nd or 1st: 3rd and but rarely of 2nd: 3rd.

The main results of this inquiry are quite clear, as we have already shown in detail: Archaic Chinese, like Ancient and Modern Chinese, had distinct tone classes. One of them corresponded to the p'ing - sheng of Ancient Chinese, another to the shang - sheng, another to the k'ü - sheng and the last (words ending in -p, -t, -k) to the ju - sheng. It should be clearly stated, however, that we cannot, by any means, assert that every word with Anc. Chin. p'ing - sheng belonged to the 1st Arch. tone class, that every word with Anc. shang - sheng belonged to the 2nd Archaic tone class and so forth. Our conclusion is necessarily limited to the general phenomenon that Archaic Chinese had tone classes roughly corresponding to those in Ancient Chinese; the attribution of individual words to one or other of the Arch. classes cannot be made with anything like certainty. The most we can venture to propound is that words figuring in the "pure one-tone sets of rimes" in all probability belonged to the Arch. tone class corresponding to the Anc. class concerned (p'ing, shang, k'ü, ju).

So much for the distinction of Archaic tone classes. Have we any means whatsoever of determining the melodies of these Arch. classes? There is, of course, nothing to prove that the 1st Arch. tone class was an even (level) tone like the Anc. p'ing - sheng, nor that the 2nd was a rising tone like the Anc. shang - sheng. There are, however, facts that do suggest a solution, without conclusively proving it.

We have seen that when there are mixed-tone rimes in the Kuo-feng it is much more common to find a mixing of 1st: 2nd and 1st: 3rd than a mixing of 2nd: 3rd. The 1st Arch. class corresponds to the Anc. "even tone", i. e. a level tone without inflexion upwards or downwards or circumflexion; the 2nd Arch. class corresponds

to the Anc. "rising tone" and the 3rd to the Anc. "falling tone". If, for the sake of argument, we assume that the melodies in the Arch. tone classes were the same as those in Anc. Chinese, it will mean that in the Kuo-feng we find a mixing of:

$$x^- : x' \text{ and } x^- : x'$$

much more frequently than a mixing of:

$$x' : x'$$

On the above assumption, this would have its natural explanation: the 1st tone having a level melody, being an uninflected, neutral, indifferent tone, it would be less shocking to rime a neutral-tone word with a rising-tone word or a neutral-tone word with a falling-tone word than it would be to rime a rising-tone word with a falling-tone word. This speaks in favour of a level tone in the 1st Arch. tone class.

When it comes to the 3rd Arch. tone class corresponding to the Anc. *k'ü-sheng*, there are, likewise, certain facts which might serve to reveal its melody. These are the particularly strong connections in *hie-sheng* characters (i. e. original *kia-tsie* loans, later elucidatingly provided with distinguishing "radicals") as well as in the Arch. rimes between 3rd-class words and 4th-class words (the latter being *ju-sheng*, words ending in *-p*, *-t*, *-k*). We shall examine these phenomena more in detail.

I. On the one hand, the fact that when a *ju-sheng* word has for phonetic or serves as phonetic in a *non-ju-sheng* word, or when a character has two readings, one *ju-sheng* and one *non-ju-sheng*, in four cases out of five the *non-ju-sheng* is a *k'ü-sheng* word was pointed out long ago (Karlgren, *Analytic Dictionary* 1926). We adduce here a number of examples (there are hundreds of other similar cases):

- | | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. <i>lât : lād'</i> | 2. <i>piwăt : piwăd'</i> | 3. <i>b'wăt : piwăd'</i> |
| 4. <i>mwăt : mwăd'</i> | 5. <i>k'iat : k'iad'</i> | 6. <i>îiat : d'iad'</i> |
| 7. <i>liat : liad'</i> | 8. <i>tîwat : tîwad'</i> | 9. <i>dz'îwat : ts'îwad'</i> |
| 10. <i>kiwăt : kiwad'</i> | 11. <i>kwăt : g'wad'</i> | 12. <i>b'îwăt : b'wăd'</i> |
| 13. <i>kîwat : k'wad'</i> | 14. <i>k'îat : k'iad'</i> | 15. <i>kât : g'ăd'</i> |
| 16. <i>t'ât : t'ăd'</i> | 17. <i>săt : săd'</i> | 18. <i>kwăt : kwăd'</i> |
| 19. <i>t'wăt : d'wăd'</i> | 20. <i>ts'wăt : tswăd'</i> | 21. <i>kat : kad'</i> |
| 22. <i>ngiat : ngiad'</i> | 23. <i>î'iat : î'iad'</i> | 24. <i>ts'ăt : tsiad'</i> |
| 25. <i>sîat : sîad'</i> | 26. <i>pîat : b'iad'</i> | 27. <i>ts'îwat : ts'îwad'</i> |
| 28. <i>î'êt : î'êd'</i> | 29. <i>pi'êt : pi'êd'</i> | 30. <i>tî'êt : tî'êd'</i> |
| 31. <i>tswət : ts'wəd'</i> | 32. <i>b'wət : b'wəd'</i> | 33. <i>î'êt : tî'êd'</i> |
| 34. <i>î'îwət : î'îwad'</i> | 35. <i>slîwət : slîwad'</i> | 36. <i>piwət : p'îwad'</i> |
| 37. <i>piwət : piwəd'</i> | 38. <i>k'îăp : k'îab'</i> | 39. <i>î'îəp : tî'əb'</i> |
| 40. <i>nəp : nŭəb'</i> | 41. <i>klāk : glāg'</i> | 42. <i>sāk : sāg'</i> |
| 43. <i>pāk : b'āg'</i> | 44. <i>χāk : χăg'</i> | 45. <i>d'āk : tăg'</i> |
| 46. <i>g'wāk : g'wāg'</i> | 47. <i>ngîāk : ngāg'</i> | 48. <i>dîāk : d'āg'</i> |

49. <i>t'ia̍k : siäg'</i>	50. <i>d'ia̍k : t'ia̍g'</i>	51. <i>siäk : tsia̍g'</i>
52. <i>ziäk : ziäg'</i>	53. <i>d'äk : d'äg'</i>	54. <i>mäk : mäg'</i>
55. <i>g'ia̍k : g'iwag'</i>	56. <i>t'ia̍k : siag'</i>	57. <i>äk : äg'</i>
58. <i>tsäk : dz'äg'</i>	59. <i>d'ia̍k : d'ia̍g'</i>	60. <i>äk : äg'</i>
61. <i>g'wëk : g'wëg'</i>	62. <i>iek : ieg'</i>	63. <i>d'iek : d'ieg'</i>
64. <i>piëk : piëg'</i>	65. <i>k'iek : kieg'</i>	66. <i>ts'iek : ts'ieg'</i>
67. <i>tsëk : tsëg'</i>	68. <i>tsiek : tsieg'</i>	69. <i>siëk : siëg'</i>
70. <i>tsək : ts'ia̍g'</i>	71. <i>sək : sæg'</i>	72. <i>pək : pwag'</i>
73. <i>kia̍k : k'ia̍g'</i>	74. <i>d'ia̍k : d'äg'</i>	75. <i>d'ia̍k : d'ia̍g'</i>
76. <i>t'ia̍k : t'ia̍g'</i>	77. <i>d'ia̍k : dzia̍g'</i>	78. <i>piük : piüg'</i>
79. <i>b'ia̍k : b'ia̍g'</i>	80. <i>b'ia̍k : b'ia̍g'</i>	81. <i>g'äk : g'äg'</i>
82. <i>gia̍k : giäg'</i>	83. <i>ia̍k : ia̍g'</i>	84. <i>giük : giüg'</i>
85. <i>d'ia̍k : d'ug'</i>	86. <i>t'ia̍k : t'ia̍g'</i>	87. <i>siök : siög'</i>
88. <i>nia̍k : nia̍g'</i>	89. <i>p'ia̍k : p'ia̍g'</i>	90. <i>g'ök : g'ög'</i>
91. <i>kök : kög'</i>	92. <i>ia̍k : ia̍g'</i>	93. <i>gliök : gliög'</i>
94. <i>tsia̍k : dz'ia̍g'</i>	95. <i>d'ia̍k : d'ia̍g'</i>	96. <i>d'ia̍k : tia̍g'</i>
97. <i>tsia̍k : tsia̍g'</i>	98. <i>d'ia̍k : d'ia̍g'</i>	99. <i>nglök : nglög'</i>
100. <i>tök : tög'</i>	101. <i>pök : b'ög'</i>	102. <i>siök : siög'</i>
103. <i>kiök : kiög'</i>	104. <i>mök : mög'</i>	105. <i>kuk : giüg'</i>
106. <i>dz'uk : ts'ug'</i>	107. <i>puk : p'ug'</i>	108. <i>suk : sug'</i>
109. <i>muk : miüg'</i>	110. <i>nia̍k : nia̍g'</i>	111. <i>k'ük : k'üg'</i>

1 刺賴 2 發廢 3 灰被 4 末沫 5 掣契 6 折逝 7 列例 8 綴綴
 9 絕絕 10 厥厥 11 括話 12 伐伐 13 夬快 14 惛惛 15 割害 16 汰汰
 17 殺殺 18 檜檜 19 脫兌 20 撮最 21 介介 22 掣藝 23 掣掣 24 察祭
 25 泄世 26 釐敝 27 騰騰 28 壹壹 29 必必 30 括至 31 卒梓 32 宰悻
 33 質躋 34 出出 35 率率 36 弗費 37 芾芾 38 怯去 39 執擊 40 納內
 41 各路 42 朔朔 43 博博 44 嚇嚇 45 宅宅 46 蕙護 47 逆逆 48 數數
 49 赤赦 50 石柘 51 昔借 52 亦夜 53 度度 54 莫莫 55 穢康 56 撫庶
 57 惡惡 58 作作 59 射射 60 阨阨 61 畫畫 62 益縊 63 易易 64 辟臂
 65 數擊 66 刺刺 67 責責 68 積積 69 適適 70 則廁 71 塞塞 72 北背
 73 極極 74 弋代 75 直值 76 織織 77 食食 78 福富 79 服服 80 伏伏
 81 劾劾 82 翼異 83 億億 84 圓圓 85 賣賣 86 祝祝 87 肅肅 88 肉肉
 89 覆覆 90 學學 91 告告 92 奧奧 93 戮戮 94 整就 95 禽禽 96 勺鈞
 97 爵爵 98 翟翟 99 樂樂 100 卓罩 101 襪襪 102 削肖 103 激激 104 遊貌
 105 谷裕 106 族族 107 卜赴 108 嗽嗽 109 黎黎 110 辱辱 111 敲敲 112 盟盟

113 烏寫 114 惡惡 115 啞啞 116 鵝兒 117 刻亥 118 疑疑 119 嶷嶷 120 寔是
 121 魚魚 122 肅肅 123 叔叔 124 覺攪 125 告告 126 丑丑 127 倏倏 128 軸由
 129 弱弱 130 煇高 131 蹻喬 132 沃大 133 嗽敷 134 較交 135 數數

112. <i>tūk : tūg'</i>	113. <i>sǎk : sǎg'</i>	114. <i>·ák : ·ág'</i>
115. <i>·ák : ·ág'</i>	116. <i>ngiek : níeg'</i>	117. <i>g'ək : g'əg'</i>
118. <i>ngiək : ngiəg'</i>	119. <i>ngiək : ngiəg'</i>	120. <i>ǎək : ǎiəg'</i>
121. <i>nǐūk : nǐəg'</i>	122. <i>sǐók : sǐóg'</i>	123. <i>sǐók : tsǐóg'</i>
124. <i>kók : kóg'</i>	125. <i>kók : g'óg'</i>	126. <i>nǐók : t'nǐóg'</i>
127. <i>ǎók : ǎióg'</i>	128. <i>d'ǐók : dǐóg'</i>	129. <i>nǐok : niog'</i>
130. <i>χok : kog'</i>	131. <i>g'ǐok : g'ǐog'</i>	132. <i>·ok : ·iog-, ·iog'</i>
133. <i>kiok : kiog'</i>	134. <i>kok : kog'</i>	135. <i>sūk : süg'</i>

This list is sufficient to show the extreme preponderance of the 3rd Arch. tone in the phonetic compounds (and in characters with double readings) that mix *non - ju - sheng* with *ju - sheng*. The cases with the 1st or 2nd Arch. tones (placed at the end of the list) are comparatively few, curiously enough all belonging to the guttural class.

II. On the other hand, we have already seen above that when a word with Anc. *ju - sheng* rimes, in an Archaic text, with Anc. *non - ju - sheng* words, these latter are, in a great majority of cases, words having *k'ü - sheng*. We shall repeat here, for clarity's sake, the instances in Kuo-feng and Yi Siang, and, because of the great importance of such cases, we shall add some more from the Siao-ya and Ta-ya of the Shī:

- 1 d. *mog' : glák* (mao : lo).
 39 d. *g'āt : mwad' : giwad' : g'ād'* (hia : mai : wei : hai).
 47 b. *d'íok : d'ieg' : t'ieg' : siek : tieg'* (ti : ti : t'i : si : ti).
 128 a. *kuk : t'igug' : ngiuk : 'uk : k'íuk* (ku : chu : yü : wu : k'ü).
 150 c. *díwat : síwat : síwad'* (yüe : süe : shuei).
 151 a. *twád' : píwət* (tuei : fu).
 154 a. *píwāt : líat : g'āt : síwad'* (fa : lie : ho : suei).
 156 c. *d'iet : síēt : t'iet : t'ied'* (tie : shī : chī : chī).
 167 a. *tsák : mǎg'* (tso : mo).
 167 e. *giək : b'íuk : keg' : kiək* (yi : fu : kie : ki).
 168 a. *dz'əg' : kiək* (tsai : ki).
 169 d. *t'ied : síwēt* (chī : sü).
 171 a. *tóg' : glák* (tao : lo).
 191 e. *g'íwəd' : liəd' : ked' : k'iwət* (huei : li : kie : k'üe).
 192 h. *kiet : líad' : mǐat : χmǐwat* (kie : li : mie : huei).
 194 b. *mǐat : liəd' : ziad'* (mie : li : yi).
 196 b. *k'ək : píüg' : giüg'* (k'o : fu : yu).

- 202 c. *sɿwət* : *ĩɿəd* (sü : chī).
 202 e. *pɿwət* : *g'ád* (fa : hai).
 203 c. *tsəg* : *sɿək* (tsai : si).
 203 d. *ləg* : *b'ũk* : *sɿəg* (lai : fu : shī).
 204 c. *liat* : *pɿwət* : *g'ád* (lie : fa : hai).
 209 f. *tsug* : *luk* (tsou : lu).
 216 c. *mɿát* : *ngɿád* (mo : yi).
 237 e. *d'ɿək* : *dz'əg* : *gɿək* (chī : tsai : yi).
 239 d. *tsəg* : *b'ɿəg* : *dzɿəg* : *pɿũk* (tsai : pei : sī : fu).
 241 h. *pɿwət* : *ngɿət* : *sɿəd* : *ɣmwət* : *b'ɿwət* (fu : yi : sī : hu : fu).
 242 a. *kɿək* : *ləg*- (ki : lai).
 245 b. *ngɿwət* : *d'át* : *g'ád* (yüe : ta : hai).
 245 g. *b'wət* : *liat* : *sɿwad* (po : lie : suei).
 249 a. *tsɿəg* : *tək* (tsī : tē).
 256 a. *dz'ɿət* : *liəd* (tsī : li).
 256 f. *d'ɿat* : *d'iad* (shê : shī).
 257 e. *pɿəd* : *sɿwət* (pi : sü).
 257 o. *g'ɿək* : *b'wəg* : *k'ək* : *liək* (ki : pei : k'o : li).
 259 b. *dz'ɿəg* : *sɿək* (shī : shī).
 260 c. *d'ɿat* : *ngwád* : *pɿwət* (shê : wai : fa).
 261 a. *g'əg* : *dɿəg* : *pɿək* (hie : yi : pi).
 261 e. *tog* : *glək* (tao : lo).
 263 a. *kəg* : *kwək* (kie : kuo).

1d 老樂	39c 韋邁衛害	47c 瞿翳掃替帝	128a 轂鼻玉屋曲
150c 閱雪說	151a 殺芾	154a 發烈褐戲	156c 埵室室至
167a 作莫	167c 翼服戒棘	168a 載棘	169d 至恤
171a 單樂	191c 惠戾屈閼	192h 結厲滅威	194b 滅戾勑
194b 夜夕	196b 克富又	202c 恤至	202c 發害
203c 載息	203d 來服試	204c 烈發害	209f 奏祿 216c 絳艾
237e 直載翼	239d 載備祀福	241h 第佗肆忽拂	242a 亞來
245b 月達害	245g 轂烈歲	249a 子德	256a 疾戾 256f 舌漸
257c 咄恤	257o 極背克力	259b 事式	260c 舌外發
261a 解'易辟	261e 到樂	263a 戒國	263f 塞來
265f 竭害。			
易經。象：	2a 發大害	36 食則得意	51 得戒

263 f. *sək : ləg⁻* (sê : lai).

265 f. *g'iat : g'ád'* (kie : hai).

Yi king : Siang:

2 a. *piwăt : d'ád' : g'ád'* (fa : ta : hai).

36. *d'iek : tsək : tək : 'iəg'* (shī : tsê : tê : yi).

51. *tək : kəg'* (tê : kie).

To sum up: we have recorded 42 rimes with mixed *k'ü - sheng* and *ju - sheng* but only 2 with mixed *p'ing - sheng* and *ju - sheng* and 2 with mixed *shang - sheng* and *ju - sheng*.

These two phenomena, the mixing of *k'ü - sheng* and *ju - sheng* in the compound characters (and characters with double readings), and the similar mixing of *k'ü - sheng* and *ju - sheng* in the Shī and Yi rimes, phenomena that are quite independent of each other, clearly indicate a particularly close connection between the Arch. 3rd tone class and the Arch. 4th tone class (*ju - sheng*).

We revert here for a moment to our above description of the Pekinese falling tone and the corresponding Anc. Chin. *k'ü - sheng*: "it starts, with full intensity, at a high pitch and descends, with decreasing intensity, to a much lower pitch". Now it is evident that a word like 害 Arch. *g'ád'*, if we surmise that it had such a falling tone, a "*k'ü - sheng*, going-away tone, dwindling tone": *g'ád'*, would be susceptible of getting a decreasing degree of sonority in its final consonant: *-d*. This *-d* would become voiceless in its last moments: *g'ád'*. That would be in perfect accord with an identical phenomenon in Pekinese. Many years ago I took some instrumental records of words in the *k'ü - sheng* of Pekinese, *inter alia* testing their degree of sonority (voiced nature). I compared two phrases;

wo pu kan', t'a yao sheng k'i (I dare not, he will be angry);

ni k'an', t'a i king lai la ((you look! he has already come).

I found that whereas the *-n* in *kan'* ("dare") was intense and richly voiced to the very end, the *-n* in *k'an'* had a weak intensity at the end of the falling-tone syllable and lost its voiced nature half-way to the end (being a voiceless *n* in its final moments). The parallelism with the Arch. *g'ád'* would be striking, if we concluded that there was a similar loss of voice in the final moments of the *-d*, because of a falling tone and a decreasing intensity. That such a conclusion is allowable is proved by the fact that this phenomenon immediately explains the particularly close connection, in *hie - sheng* compound characters and in rimes, illustrated above, between the 3rd Arch. tone (corresponding to the Anc. *k'ü - sheng*) and the Arch. 4th tone (*ju - sheng*, *-p*, *-t*, *-k*).

That a 害 *g'ád'* (with the *-d* weakened in sonority towards the end) would be acceptable as Phonetic in a 割 *kât*, whereas a *g'ád-* or a *g'ád'* (with full sonority in the final *-d*) would be less acceptable, is quite obvious. Likewise, that a rime 發 害 *piwăt : g'ád'* (Ode 202) is passable, whereas a rime *piwăt : g'ád'* or *piwăt : g'ád-* would be a less satisfactory hedge rime.

* * *

In an interesting article on the well-known phenomenon of *k'ü-sheng* tone derivation, for instance 聞 *miwən*⁻ “to hear”: *miwən*['] “to be heard”, combined, in the case of words with non-nasal finals, with a change in the final consonant, for instance 度 *d'ák* “to measure”: *d'ág*['] “a measure” (Mand. *t o* and *t u* respectively), G. B. Downer has tried¹⁾ to find an earliest date for this important morphological feature. He concludes that “although the appearance of the *chiuh sheng* [*k'ü-sheng*] derivation cannot be dated with precision, the likelihood is that it took place in late Archaic, possibly Chyn [Ts'in] times”.

It can, however, be attested to be of much earlier, date, in fact in the earliest texts known to us. A few examples will show this.

The word 聞 quoted above in its reading *miwən*⁻ is common in the Shī, e. g. 我聞其聲 “I hear his voice”, and in its reading *miwən*['] (King tien shī wen) we find it in Ode 184: 聲聞于天 “its voice is heard in Heaven”. That the *k'ü-sheng* in the latter is not an innovation of later date than the Shī is proved by etymology, for this *miwən*['] is etymologically the same as 問 *miwən*['] “to ask”. This latter indeed comes from the same word stem as 聞 *miwən*⁻ “to hear”, being a kind of causative: “to cause to hear” (let me hear =) “to ask”.

Similarly 先 *sien*⁻ “before” has basically the *p'ing-sheng* (common in the Shī) but by *k'ü-sheng* derivation (the same character) it is read *sien*['] in the sense of “to go before”. In that reading we find it in Ode 197: 尙或先之 “there may still be somebody who steps in front of him”. The *k'ü-sheng* in Shī time is here confirmed by the rime (先 *sien*[']: 堦 *g'ien*[']).

Again 田 *d'ien*⁻ “field” is common in the Shī; in the *k'ü-sheng* derivation *d'ien*['] “to cultivate the land” we have it in Ode 210, riming with 甸 *d'ien*['].

Another conclusive case is the word “to measure” already mentioned above. 度 as a verb has the reading *d'ák* “to measure” in Ode 198: 予付度之 “I can measure them” (there riming with 作 *tsák* etc.). As a noun it has the reading *d'ág*['] “a measure” in Ode 108: 美無度 “he is beautiful beyond measure” (here riming with 路 *glág*[']).

Additional confirmation is furnished by a word-stem *ko* “previous”; as an adjective written 古 *ko*['] it means “ancient” (common in Shī) this being the basic *shang-sheng* reading; by *k'ü-sheng* derivation it gave 故 *ko*['] “anterior, ci-devant, premise, cause” and as such we have it riming, for instance, in Ode 120 with 祛 (*k'jab*[']) *k'io*['] and 居 *k'io*['] (*sic*); the high age of this *k'ü-sheng* is indubitable.

The examples adduced suffice to show that the *k'ü-sheng* tone derivation was not an innovation in the course of the Chou era but, on the contrary, it was a primary, fundamental and essential feature in the earliest Arch. Chinese, attestable in our earliest literary sources.

* * *

¹⁾ G. B. Downer, Derivation by tone-change in classical Chinese, BSOAS 1959, p. 258 ff.

The fact that the shang-sheng is well attested in the earliest Chinese literary texts makes it worth while adding a note about the antithesis wu (*ngo) 吾 : w o (*ngá) 我 in Archaic Chinese. I showed long ago (Journal Asiatique 1920) that whereas in some early texts wu regularly expressed the nominative and the genitive cases: "I, my, we, our", but as a rule never the object case (dative and accusative): "me, us", w o quite regularly expressed the latter: "me, us"; but, further, that already in very early times the object-case form w o (*ngá)

論語：

6:9 善為我辭焉 7:1 竊比於我老彭 7:17 加我數年
7:22 三人行必有我師焉 17:1 歲不我與

孟子：

1A:7 於我心有戚戚焉 2A:9 雖袒裸於我側 2B:10 子盍為我言之
2B:14 久於齊非我志也 3A:1 文王我師也 4A:9 可以濯我足
4A:15 求非我徒也 4B:24 今日我疾作 4B:31 無萬人於我室
5A:1 父母之不我愛 6A:7 理義之悅我心、 6B:14 使飢餓於我土地
7B:37 過我門而不入我室

論語：

2:9 吾與回言終日 3:9 夏禮吾能言之 3:10 吾不欲觀之
3:14 吾從周 5:9 始吾與人也.. 5:11 吾未見剛者
7:5 吾不復夢見周公 7:7 吾未嘗無誨焉 7:11 吾不與焉
7:12 吾亦為之 7:12 從吾所好 7:26 吾不得而見之矣
9:2 吾從眾 9:15 吾自吳反魯 11:8 吾不徒行
11:8 以吾從大夫之後 12:9 吾猶不足 13:4 吾不如老農
13:14 吾其與聞之 14:14 吾不信也 15:31 吾黨終日不食
18:6 吾非斯人之徒 19:3 異乎吾所聞

孟子：

1B:13 是謀非吾所能及也 2A:2 聖則吾不能 2A:2 吾未能有行焉
2B:5 則吾不知也 2B:7 吾何為獨不然 3A:2 諸侯之禮吾未之學也
5A:2 則吾既得聞命矣 5B:3 吾於子思則師之矣 5B:7 則吾未聞

encroached upon *wu* (**ngo*) and thus also frequently cropped up as a synonym of the latter in nominative and genitive ("I, my, we, our").

Professor G. Kennedy, in an article in the *Bull. Inst. Hist. Phil. Academia Sinica* vol. XXVIII (1956) has rejected this thesis and proposed a different explanation of the contrast *wu* : *wo*. First, he emphasizes that *wu* never stands as phrase final (or before a pause), whereas *wo* sometimes assumes that position. This, in itself, tallies perfectly with my "case" thesis, since a nominative-genitive form *wu* cannot possibly occur as phrase final. But, Kennedy insists, *wo* has the shang-sheng (as against *wu* in p'ing-sheng), and this, together with the fact that it frequently stands at the end of a phrase (it must be admitted that this is comparatively rare: in the first half of the *Tso chuan*, dukes Yin-Siang, it stands as phrase final in 75 cases, inside the phrase in 376 cases) suggests an analogy to certain other words which regularly or at least fairly frequently stand as phrase finals and at the same time have the shang-sheng, such as 否此是彼也矣者耳爾. To Kennedy these phenomena suggest that the contrast *wu* : *wo* is rather of a prosodic than a grammatical nature. He suggests that *wu* is an unstressed (unaccentuated) version of the pronoun, *wo* a stressed (accentuated) version. He is happy to adduce a *Meng-tsi* line in which this distinction seems clear: 彼以其富我以吾仁.

This is an interesting theory. Unfortunately, however, when we test it on a great number of early texts, we find, that it is all wrong. There are just as many examples where it fails as those in which it may be said to tally with the textual facts. A few examples will suffice to show this. They are all chosen from *Lun-yü* and *Meng-tsi*; in *Tso-chuan*, *Chuang-tsi* etc. there are scores of similar cases.

In the first set: *Lun-yü* 6: 9 — *Meng* 7 B: 37, the pronoun is unstressed (particularly evident in cases like *Lun* 7: 1 *wo lao P'eng*, 7: 22 *wo shi*, *Meng* 1 A: 7 *wo sin*) and should, according to Kennedy, be *wu*, but it is *wo*.

In the second set: *Lun-yü* 2: 9 — *Meng* 5 B: 7, the pronoun cannot possibly be said to be unstressed, it is quite strong in the phrase and sometimes directly emphasized (e. g. *Lun* 9: 2 *wu ts'ung chung*, *Meng* 2 B: 7 *wu ho wei tu pu jan*); in most of the instances cited here the pronoun is followed by an entirely unaccentuated word and therefore itself, for rhythmical reasons, has a considerable stress. The pronoun in these examples should therefore, according to Kennedy, be *wo*, but it is *wu*.

The conclusion is inevitable: it will not do to pick out one or two text examples which serve to corroborate one's ideas and at the same time to disregard and pass over in silence scores of other instances which refute those ideas. Kennedy's explanation of *wu* and *wo* has miscarried through this error of method.

A few words should be added about another point. Kennedy makes much of the fact that *Shi king* has no cases of *wu* at all but exclusively *wo* and that this would seem to preclude the possibility that the distinction *wu* : *wo* goes back to Proto-Chinese. If this were correct, *wu* would have suddenly cropped up in late *Chou* time, only to disappear again, in the spoken language, in *Han* time or later.

Such a conclusion goes far beyond the premisses. The Shī king language (that of Royal Chou) differs on many important points from that of Lun-yü, Meng-tsi, Tso-chuan etc. Thus, for instance, the Shī king has no pronominal *f u* 夫, nor final *f u* 夫, nor the interrogative finals *y e* 邪 and *y ü* 與, nor pronominal *h i* 奚, elements that are common in the said texts. To conclude from this that those grammatical words did not exist in the Chinese language at the time of the Shī king but were innovations in the Late-Chou language would be a great mistake. The Lu dialect (Lun-yü and Meng-tsi) evidently still possessed grammatical features already lost some centuries earlier in the Royal-Chou dialect.

The fact that the object-case form *w o* penetrated into the nominative and genitive, encroaching upon the original realm of *w u* and, in the Royal-Chou dialect, ousting *w u* completely, is not in the least surprising. It is a well-known phenomenon, attested in various languages, that the accusative form conquers the nominative form. In French, *moi*, *toi*, now used in the nominative, were originally accusative forms. In Italian certain classes of nouns now have nominative forms derived from the accusative in Latin. In Swedish, the indefinite pronoun *någon* (nominative) "somebody" comes from an ancient accusative form. The victory of *w o* over *w u* in Chinese is but another instance of this well-attested tendency.

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